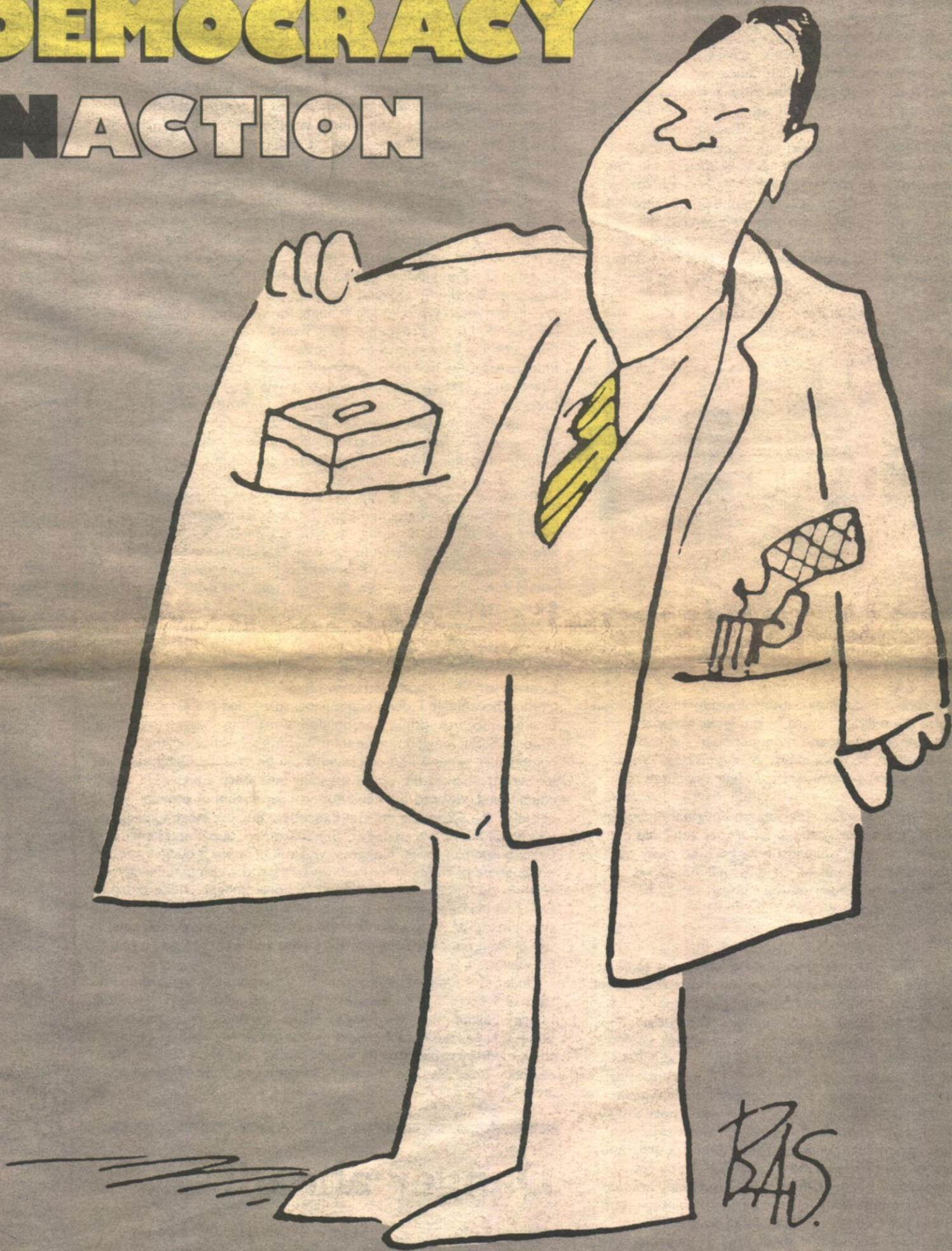


# IN THESE TIMES

VOL. 10, NO. 13

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## DEMOCRACY IN ACTION



**Marcos steals another election**

Page 3

Charting Peru's progress  
Anti-Semitism, Italian-style  
Why Dorothy died

5 Debating conversion  
7 The Mother Machine  
8 The once and future King

11  
13  
14



# Reagan's budget: from welfare state to warfare state

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

The Reagan administration's 1987 budget, which it began defending last week against almost unanimous congressional opposition, is similar to past administration budgets—only worse. It has been shaped not only by the administration's abiding priorities, but also by the Gramm-Rudman deficit reduction plan, the effect of which has been to dramatize those priorities by compressing them into a narrower compass.

The administration's priorities have to be inferred from its actions rather than its words. A budget has three interrelated functions: maintaining and defending the fabric of society, spurring economic development and redressing wrongs and compensating for inequities. The Reagan budgets have claimed that the second is not a proper role for government, and they have limited the scope of the third. But they have also claimed that by releasing funds erroneously devoted to economic development or welfare, they would in fact stimulate economic growth by creating new space in the private sector.

Such a theory enjoys a respectable lineage from the 18th century, but it sheds little light on what the Reagan budgets have

## THE STORY INSIDE

actually done. By drastically increasing military budgets even while reducing the rate of growth of discretionary social and economic spending, the Reagan administration has willy-nilly embarked upon a program of using rising government spending and deficits to spur economic development.

According to a recent Brookings Institution study, administration policies have raised the military's share of the gross national product from 5.5 to 6.5 percent and have increased the public sector's share of the GNP at the expense of the private. When Reagan took office, federal government spending amounted to 22.5 percent of GNP.

Last year it rose to 25 percent. The Reagan budgetary ideology of "returning the federal government to its proper role" has masked this military incursion, while justifying raids on many of the social and economic programs of the '60s and '70s, from Medicaid to AMTRAK. The administration's slogan should be: "from the welfare state to the warfare state."

### Hedging bets

The difference this year is that Gramm-Rudman threatens to blunt the budget's overall growth. And in so far as automatic cuts would be made equally among military and nonmilitary spending, it also threatens to reverse the growth of military spending at the expense of the rest of the budget. Thus to hedge against Gramm-Rudman's automatic cuts, the administration is calling for a 12 percent real growth in military spending. And it is concentrating its program cuts entirely in welfare and economic development programs. The administration's proposals would cut almost \$10 billion in programs for the poor and virtually eliminate urban development, unemployment training and small-business programs.

The full extent of the proposed military buildup is not yet known—a Congressional Budget Office study has already accused the administration of understating its cost by \$10-15 billion—but Gordon Adams and Jeff Colman of the Defense Budget Project have done a preliminary analysis that sheds light on its projections. According to Adams and Colman, military outlays constituted 22.7 percent of federal budget outlays in the fiscal year 1980 budget; by FY 1986 they would total 27.1 percent and by FY 1987, if the Reagan budget is adopted, 28.4 percent. If Congress were to adhere to the administration's projections through 1991, the military budget would then be taking up 32.6 percent of federal spending.

The most dramatic increase in the military budget is a 75 percent increase in funds for the Strategic Defense Initiative, commonly known as Star Wars, expected to grow from \$2.75 billion in 1986 to \$4.8 billion in 1987. But the increase affects other budget areas as well. For the Energy Department, for instance, more than \$1 billion in programs would be shifted from civilian to military uses. And the military's share of overall research and development money would be 73 percent, the highest proportion since the height of the Vietnam war. One can dramatize the pattern by breaking the administration budget down into the agencies to which funds are allocated. The budgets for military-

related agencies are expected to increase over the next five years, while the budgets for domestic agencies are expected to shrink.

### Changes in outlays from FY 1986-FY 1991 (not adjusted for inflation)

Agencies that include military-related spending		Agencies whose principle spending is domestic	
Defense	+37%	EPA	-22%
Energy	+30%	Transportation	-16%
NASA	+30%	Interior	-13%
State	+38%	HUD	-16%
		Education	-21%
		Agriculture	-34%

Source: Center on Budget and Policy Priorities

### Domestic reductions

Predictably, the administration has claimed that its budget will not affect "legitimate programs for the poor and the elderly." Yet those who have studied the budget believe otherwise. Of the \$38.2 billion in cuts proposed by the administration, \$9.2 billion come from what the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities describes as "programs targeted largely or exclusively on those with low incomes." The administration would cut \$2.8 billion from low-income entitlement programs like Medicaid, food stamps, Aid to Families with Dependent Children and Child Nutrition.

It would eliminate nearly \$4 billion in discretionary programs aimed at the poor, including the Legal Services Program, Housing Assistance for the Elderly and Handicapped, the Work Incentive Program—which provides job training for welfare recipients—and the Juvenile Justice Program. And it would drastically reduce other programs like Low Income Housing Assistance, Summer Youth Employment, the Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants and Children—causing 27,000 low-income women to be dropped from the rolls—and Community Health Centers. The administration has also taken aim at entitlement programs that most clearly benefit the poor. For instance, it is proposing that the premium for elderly Medicare recipients be increased about \$191 a year.

To deflect attention from these cuts, the administration is proposing a new program to ease the costs of catastrophic illness. While it is currently studying the plan, it is said to favor a proposal already made by Otis Bowen, the new Secretary of Health and Human Services, that limits coverage to Medicare recipients and would guarantee full payment for illness past 150 days. To qualify for coverage, however, recipients would have to double their current premium for physician services.

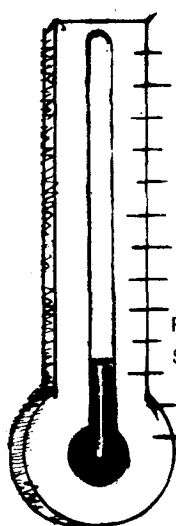
### Gramm-Rudman ruling

On February 7 the administration received a boost for its budget from a three-judge federal court panel that ruled the Gramm-Rudman bill unconstitutional. The opinion, written by Reagan appointee Antonio Scalia, singled out Gramm-Rudman's reliance on the comptroller general—an official who can be fired by Congress—to execute the across-the-board spending cuts. Such a provision, the court found, violated the constitutional separation of powers between the Congress and the Executive. But the judge's ruling, which will now be appealed to the Supreme Court, leaves part of Gramm-Rudman intact. Congress will still propose a budget and if it falls short of the Gramm-Rudman targets, the comptroller-general—in conjunction with the Congressional Budget Office and the Office of Management and Budget—will propose across-the-board cuts. Instead of going automatically into effect, however, the cuts will be sent back to Congress for a vote and will then go to the president.

Under Gramm-Rudman's automatic provisions Congress seemed to have found a way to derail the Reagan administration's relentless military buildup. But now Reagan, facing draconian military cuts, will still have considerable room to maneuver. He will not get all the cuts or increases that he wants, but he may get a budget that distinctly resembles the one that Congress pronounced "dead on arrival."

## Danger ahead!

Goal: \$125,000



Last week our \$125,000 fund drive took in only \$3,601, plus \$20 in pledges. There were no sustainers, so we are still 36 short of our goal of 50 new sustainers.

The total amount received and pledged so far is \$25,547. This is \$99,443 short of our goal—and we are in the fifth week of our drive.

We had hoped to get the bulk of the \$125,000 we must raise from our readers this year from this appeal, so as to avoid a crisis later in the year and to enable us to concentrate on putting out a better paper, rather than fundraising.

If that is to happen, we need a big increase in the number of contributions in the next few weeks. So if you have not done so already, please send a check today.

## IN THESE TIMES

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## IN THESE TIMES

By James B. Goodno

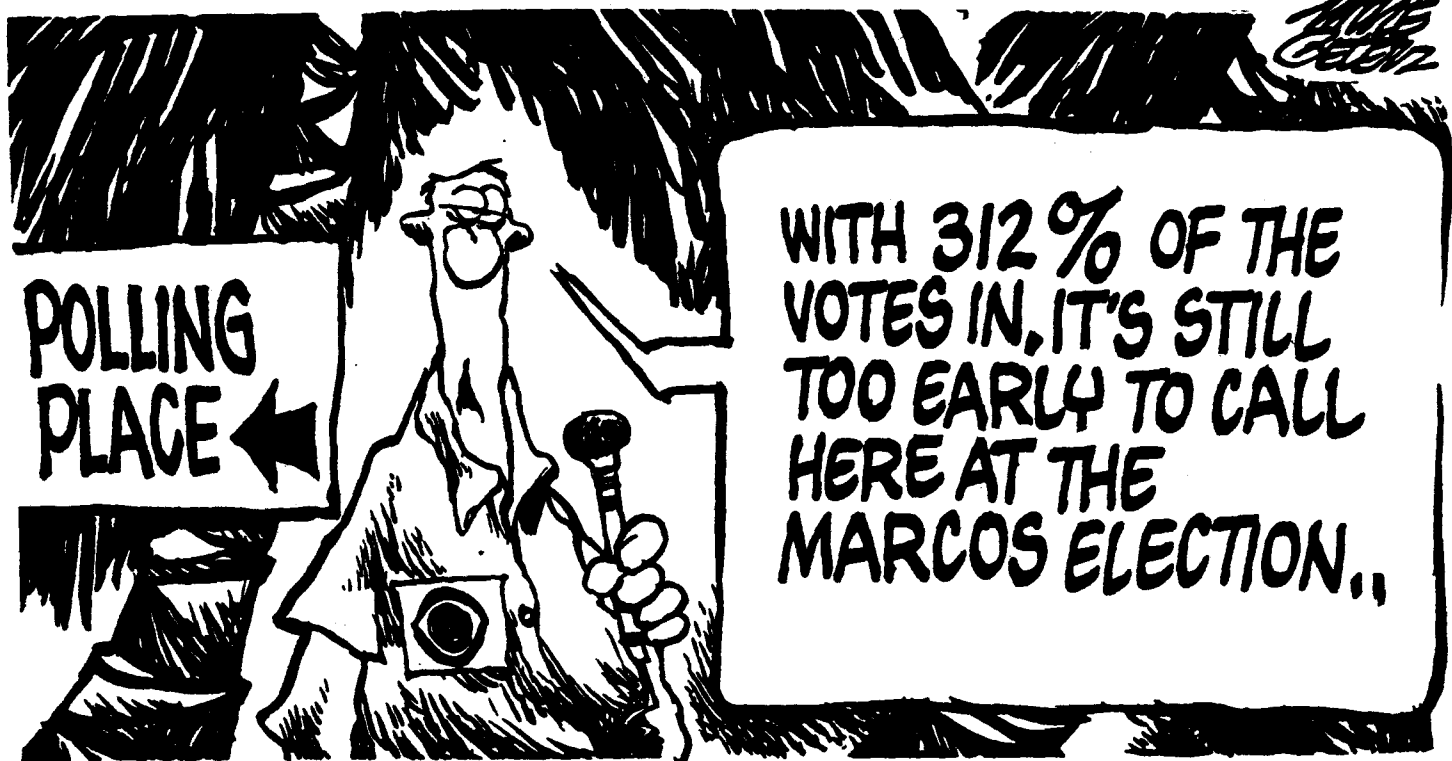
MANILA

**A**S IN THESE TIMES WENT TO press it was widely believed here that Corazon Aquino had won the February 7 presidential election, but that Ferdinand Marcos would continue to rule as he has for the past 20 years. Political violence is likely to increase in this volatile situation and there have already been numerous reports of unusually brutal incidents aimed at opposition supporters and members of the nonpartisan National Movement for Free Elections (Namfrel).

If Marcos is declared the winner—a responsibility now in the hands of the National Assembly—the victory will be considered incredible by many. At the very least his victory will have been marred by widespread fraud and corruption. Journalists, foreign observers, partisan and nonpartisan poll watchers and, most importantly, many Filipino voters readily acknowledge that Marcos and his local supporters made widespread use of guns, goons and gold on election day. Perhaps the most vile example of Marcos' cronies' attempts to preserve their power and his were the recent murders of two Namfrel volunteers and of several opposition United Nationalist Democratic Organization (UNIDO) organizers and leaders. The two Namfrel volunteers were killed on election day after questioning the activities of local ruling New Society Movement (KBL) activists in the Visayas and on Mindanao. Among recent UNIDO deaths were the sniper shooting of a pro-Aquino rallyist in Makati, Metro Manila, and the murder of the Antique governor.

The murder of the governor, who had lived in fear of KBL Assemblyman Arturo Pacificador since seven men working for Pacificador's foe in the 1984 National Assembly election were gunned down, led Assemblyman Ramon Mitra of the social-democratic Philippine Democratic Party to call the election "bloodstained." And it was, as at least 28 persons were killed on election day, according to the armed forces. Other reports put the election-day death toll as high as 60. At least 93 were killed and 50 others wounded in 284 election-related incidents between December 6 and February 10.

These are the figures most observers cite when discussing the impact of violence on the election. But this narrow outlook ignores the climate of fear in many parts of the country (see accompanying story). It



## Split decision divides islands

also ignores the military's role in controlling the population during normal times and local strongmen's widespread use of terror in maintaining their power. In parts of all the country's main regions, voting took place under the watchful eyes of the military and of ruling party warlords' private armies. In some places Commission on Election (Comelec) officials admitted they allowed political musclemen to examine votes before they were placed in the ballot boxes.

"The level of anomalies compared with the 1984 assembly election is much higher," said Namfrel Chairman Jose Concepcion. "Large-scale harassment of Namfrel volunteers and voters has been reported. In many areas the following have been noted: voters' lists could not be found, indelible ink turned out to be delible and voters were not allowed to vote."

Election violations can be broken down into those that occurred before, on and after election day. They include bribery, corruption, intimidation and violence.

Before the election the government spent massive amounts of money in ways that violated the election code. Individuals were paid to attend Marcos rallies and votes were bought. Government owned, controlled or influenced media were used as propaganda tools. The opposition was denied access to

much of the press and most of the TV networks. City buses, garbage trucks, army trucks and even navy ships were used to bring Filipinos to Marcos rallies. Decrees were issued launching—at least in theory—costly government projects.

As election day dawned, KBL strategists realized that this would not guarantee victory for the ailing 68-year-old autocrat. In some Marcos strongholds, such as his home Ilocos region and Minister of National Defense Juan Ponce Enrile's Cagayan Valley, "Operation Zero" was put into effect. Local leaders were promised cash bonuses if Aquino received no votes in their precincts. This reportedly occurred in some areas.

Namfrel volunteer poll watchers and accredited opposition monitors were harassed and in some places denied access to polling places and canvassing centers. Before the election, Namfrel leaders said they had volunteers ready to cover an estimated 90 percent of the country's 87,000 precincts. But after polls closed Namfrel leaders said the organization's volunteers were prevented from functioning in 10-15 percent of the precincts—usually in Marcos strongholds.

In Cebu City, Makati and Quezon City in Metro Manila, and other opposition strongholds, voter lists were scrambled and names of registered voters did not appear

he allowed the volunteers and the delegation to watch the polling. By this time the polls had been open for more than an hour.

By 10:00 a.m. the Namfrel volunteers pulled out of town. Harassment followed them to the polls. Cameras belonging to some volunteers were stolen. Photos were constantly being taken of them. Access to polling places continued to be denied despite the orders of Loro and Ortiz.

"This is a fraud," said Domingo Juan, the leader of Namfrel's special action team from Cebu City. "We will not be a part of it. We will consider the results here null and void."

Throughout the morning Namfrel volunteers were followed by goons and military men. A team of heavily armed Philippine Constabulary soldiers escorted the volunteers' motorcade into the city. Many Namfrel members were delayed at a Constabulary roadblock for more than half an hour before being allowed to proceed. Unidentified men in dark glasses carrying walkie-talkies lounged by polling places watching the voters, jeeps carrying men with cameras followed visitors around town and in some places uniformed men carrying longarms sat in restaurants, at roadsides and in cars.

"Elections aren't like they are elsewhere, like your country," said one ranking military leader in the area. "Politics are people's lives—people are willing to kill for politics."

-J.B.G.

## Election fraud in Marcos country

**DANAO CITY, DEBU PROVINCE**—At first glance, this central Philippines coastal city is deceptively calm—even pleasant. Small fishing boats float in the turquoise waters lined by palm-shaded beaches. Attractive old buildings, shaded parks and surrounding mountains further entice visitors.

But scratch beneath the surface and one discovers a city and a region controlled by an aging warlord who rules with a mixture of patronage and terror. That man is 80-year-old former congressman Ramon Durano—father of Danao's current mayor and assemblyman and leader of President Ferdinand Marcos' ruling New Society Movement here.

Danao is a place where Ferdinand Marcos could have easily won the February 7 presidential election without blatant cheating. It is also a place where the ruling party demonstrated just how far it would go to guarantee its ailing leader one more victory.

"This is a terrorist city," a former schoolteacher passing the town's church said nervously on election day. Face twitching, he glanced around constantly and quickly hurried away after talking. "There is an

opposition here, but we are afraid. Yesterday they arrested two UNIDO members. We haven't seen them since."

No Danao residents were willing to serve as opposition poll watchers during the February 7 polling. Only five individuals out of some 60-70,000 residents were willing to identify themselves as Namfrel volunteers, and these volunteers were afraid to enter the polling places.

"I don't know if I will live tomorrow," said Leonardo Capitan, one of the local Namfrel volunteers before the election. Capitan left town on election night—afraid to stay in the town where he was born.

The night before schoolteachers in the town had been invited to a meeting at Durano's house. There ballots were being prepared with votes already cast for Marcos. Some teachers quit their jobs as poll watchers, but were afraid to do any more. One of the teachers spent election day in the downtown church, crying and praying.

Namfrel's Cebu City chapter attempted to fill the gap by sending in a team of volunteer poll watchers. Regional Comelec director Mariano Ortiz had sent a letter through Namfrel attorney Manuel Go ordering local Comelec registrar Roque Loro to allow the Namfrel volunteers to watch the polls. He refused. He also refused to allow a team of American observers led by U.S. Representative Jerry Lewis to watch the voting. It wasn't until he received a radio transmission from Ortiz that

on sheets posted outside the polling places.

No reliable figures are available for the number of voters disenfranchised in this way. Estimates in Metro Manila range from 30,000-300,000. As *In These Times* went to press, Aquino was leading in Manila by a smaller margin than was predicted.

Attempts were made in several places to remove ballot boxes from canvassing centers by unidentified and often armed men. In Makati, Pasay City, Quezon City and Mandalouyong, city or municipal halls were surrounded by volunteers guarding against such occurrences. Violence broke out at many of these sites and several injuries were reported. But in the end, the vigilantes apparently succeeded in their task of guarding the ballot boxes.

Comelec officials joined KBL partisans and the controlled media in accusing Namfrel of working with the opposition to sabotage the election results. But this charge was rejected by, among others, leaders of the Roman Catholic Church and Sen. Richard Lugar (R-IN), who headed the official U.S. observer team.

### "Our eyes and ears"

"Without Namfrel, in my judgment, we would not have the eyes and ears to observe this election," Lugar said during a conversation with a few press members a day before his February 10 departure. "We are but 20 people, and the point is often made that there are 87,000 precincts. Twenty of us, that is right, but Namfrel, with several hundred thousand volunteers, is our eyes and ears. And so if you're asking me, if Namfrel was taken out of the picture we wouldn't have a whole lot to look at."

On February 11 Namfrel's quick-count center was the site of a violent demonstration staged by Marcos backers. The school compound housing Namfrel's Operation Quick Count and a signboard for posting returns were vandalized with stones, paint and acid.

Comelec was not without its problems. Near midnight on February 9, 29 computer operators and programmers involved in Comelec's tabulation and Operation Quick Count walked off the job, saying the results being posted differed from their tabulations. Government and Comelec officials said Namfrel and the opposition coordinated the walkout, but it was later revealed that all those who walked were long-term employees of the government's National Computer Center, hand-picked for the job.

Commissioner Jaime Opinion, who led the anti-Namfrel offensive, was later attacked for partisanship. During a February 9 press conference Opinion revealed a secret telephone survey of Comelec personnel that put Marcos farther ahead than the posted Comelec tallies. He went so far as to project a Marcos victory before catching himself and denying ever having said this.

(Namfrel and the U.S. and international observers panels are important because they were expected to lend the election a degree

Continued on page 6



## Musical mishaps trail Challenger

With jingoistic jingles like James Brown's "Living in America" hitting it big, it's becoming clear that songs about America sell records, Miles Harvey reports. And what better way to rocket to the top of the charts than with a song about an American tragedy—the explosion of the space shuttle Challenger. Former Allman Brothers Band drummer Butch Trucks is producing a tune called "Oh, Challenger" for Florida musician Robert Watt. And, according to United Press International, Louisiana songwriter Ted Harden is exploding onto the Shreveport radio scene with the song "Challenger." Can there be any doubt about what the videos will look like? Just check out the lyrics from the latter number:

*I swear the wind was whispering "goodbye,"  
And there on the eastern horizon  
Were seven new stars in the sky.*

Pretty tasteless. But that musical mishap is nothing compared to one the White House pulled a week after the Challenger tragedy. At President Reagan's personal instruction, the White House released a tape of astronaut Ronald McNair playing a blues version of "What the World Needs Now is Love" on the saxophone. What better way to honor a dead black astronaut than with a bit of his music? This White House effort was one of a kind. No tape of Christa McAuliffe in a sing-along with her students was forthcoming. A White House spokesman said it released the McNair tape because the recording had not been available before the astronauts' January 31 memorial service.

But at that ceremony it was clear Ronald Reagan was thinking more of McNair's funk than of his contributions as an astronaut. The president said: "We remember Ronald McNair, who said he learned perseverance in the cotton fields of South Carolina. His dream was to live aboard the space station performing experiments and playing his saxophone in the weightlessness of space. Ron, we will miss your saxophone, and we will build your space station." Ronald McNair had a doctorate in physics from Massachusetts Institute of Technology and a long list of other academic honors, including honorary doctorates from three other schools. He stood as an example of the strides blacks have made in American society. But if Ronald Reagan were writing the history books, the nation's second black astronaut would be remembered for his natural rhythm.

## Utah passes into the Third World

About an hour's drive south of Salt Lake City, quiet Utah County is home to U.S. Steel's Geneva Works, for decades one of the largest employers in the state. This fact will soon be merely history as Utah joins the list of more than 70 operations closed by Big Steel in the past two years, Warner Woodworth reports.

Last June, Thomas Usher, senior vice president of U.S. Steel, told an industry-wide conference in Utah that the corporation would not abandon its local roots and assured the Geneva steelworkers that the plant's future lay in their hands. "It will continue to be our people who can have the largest say in determining our future and their own future," he said. Pittsburgh apparently forgot to consult the Geneva workers, however, when the firm announced last December it was entering into a joint venture agreement with Pohang Iron and Steel of South Korea—a move that will make Geneva obsolete. Over the next few years, U.S. Steel will pour some \$300 million into modernizing a fabricating plant in California so that it can begin receiving cheap Korean steel from its new co-owner. (See story on page 8.)

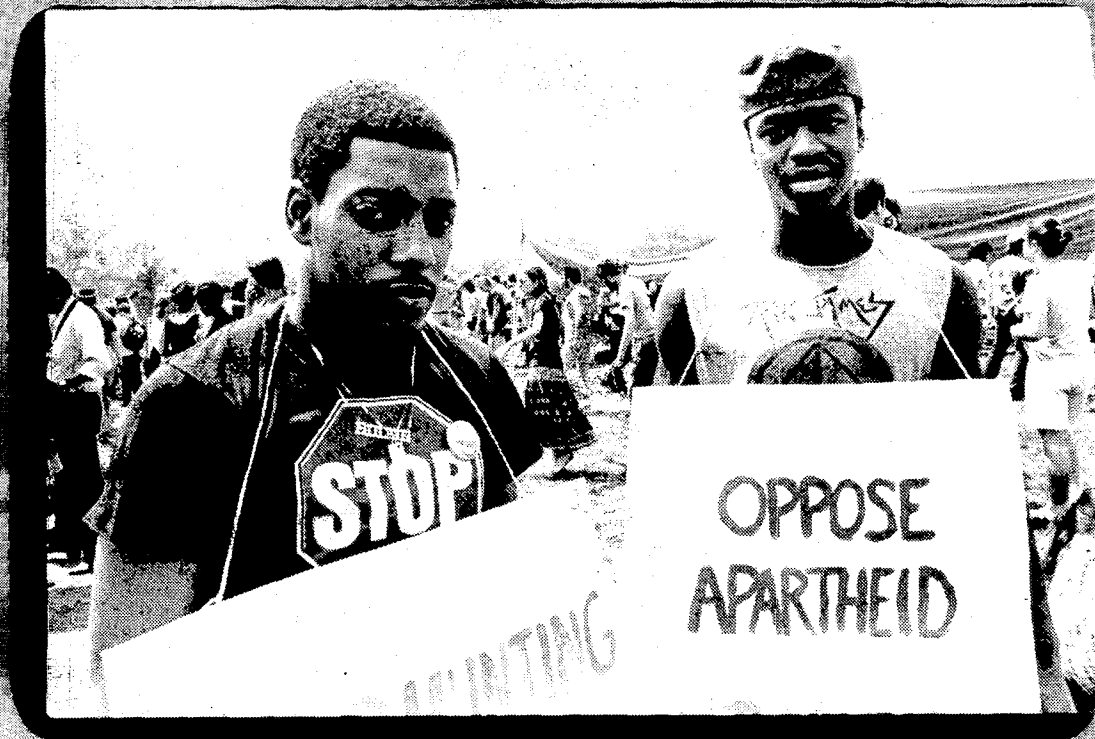
George Gardner, president of the dwindling United Steelworkers of America Local 2701, said, "We were betrayed." The company's rhetoric in recent years against foreign competition now seems empty as it enters into an agreement with the "enemy." Kay Mitani, union vice president, added that the new joint venture will mean the "colonization of the American steel industry and its workers." The tightening of the noose will not only affect Utah steelworkers and their families. It could claim some 8,000 jobs in the valley and will likely lead to the demise of dozens of other businesses dependent on Geneva—construction firms, fab steel shops, cafes and gas stations. According to a Brigham Young University study, a total plant shutdown will cost the local economy about \$250 million in lost wages, taxes and purchased goods.

The immensity of such costs is exacerbated by other plant closings in Utah. Two major trucking firms, a turkey processing plant, three mines, a rubber company, various construction firms and a steel shop have all shut down in the past year, along with Sohio's giant Kennecott Copper Mine, the nation's largest open pit. The result is the disappearance of some 12,000 basic industry jobs in the state. Utah has already slipped to 48th of 50 states in per capita income, with one Utahn in every eight living in official poverty. The region continues to take on some aspects of a Third World country heavily dependent on the whims of distant, absentee owners.

"Every December, U.S. Steel has a board meeting and lays a turkey on someone," observed a local economist. "And this year Utah got the bird."

## IN SHORT

Rachel Sternberg



Anti-apartheid protests this winter have blown both hot and cold. Above, a shirtsleeve protest in Washington, D.C. In the north, students camped out in the snow.

**Braving the cold** of a Minnesota winter, anti-apartheid protesters at Carleton College camped out one recent weekend in front of the administration building. They had tents and two sleeping bags, and a bulletin board with protest guidelines, but their vigil was to no avail. After a freezing night when the temperature dropped to 15 degrees below zero, the board of trustees turned a cold shoulder and voted to continue its policy of "partial divestment."

**Fighting again** at Cornell University, students there have been urging divestment for at least 15 years. The Board of Trustees recently voted to jettison its policy of "selective divestment," a notch or two, but as for the more drastic action urged by students, the Board agreed to rule it "over again" in three years.

**In this season** of ironies, when someone like Ronald Reagan sings the praises of Martin Luther King, is it any wonder that black leaders have been affected in curious ways? How else to explain why some of the same black leaders who protested Washington's welcome of Jonas Savimbi also protested Britain's refusal to admit Louis Farrakhan into London? Savimbi, a black nationalist foe of the "Portuguese-educated" leadership of Angola, has a program that's won the support of racist South Africa. Farrakhan, a black nationalist foe of "white-educated" black leadership here at home, has a program that's won the support of this country's neo-Nazi movement. Both Savimbi and Farrakhan say they'll take their support where they can get it.

**There's more?** Can there be more bad news about asbestos? If working with it can ruin

your health, so can living with someone who does. Radiologic signs of pulmonary asbestos disease were found in 11.3 percent of 274 wives of men who had worked 20 years or more in shipyards in Los Angeles County. A study in the *New England Journal of Medicine* also identified asbestosis in 7.6 percent of 79 sons and 2.1 percent of 140 daughters of these workers. None of the wives, sons and daughters had occupational exposure, and no such radiographic signs were found in comparison groups.

**Just breathing** the air in Mexico City is enough to endanger your health. The air is thick with toxic gases—up to 13,000 tons on a bad day and at least 2,000 tons on a good one. Toxin abate, a detoxification expert, told the *Chicago Tribune* he has been treating dozens of patients with lead, copper and mercury poisoning whose symptoms include psychosis. Many of the capital's 18-million residents are deeply worried, but not the government. Says Abiza Barea, a deputy undersecretary for the Secretariat of Ecology and Urban Environment: "We don't want to minimize the problem, but there isn't any reason for people to be alarmed."

**The ghost of** Marie Antoinette was laid to rest recently in the *New England Journal of Medicine*. "Let them eat cake," the French queen is said to have said. A doctor from St. Louis, Mo., recently wrote to recommend cane sugar as a cheap source of calories for the Third World hungry. Came a reply from Bombay: the hungry would soon get diarrhea. As for the cheapness of sugar, wrote Dr. V.C. Talwalker, the low international price of 10 cents per kilogram is "a grave injustice to farmers and their land."

**A young girl** is joining the old boys in London. The dean of Westminster School, the 400-year-old private institution tucked next to the House of Commons, has chosen a female "captain" who, hailing from Barbados, is also black. Headmaster John "Rab" described Lynda Stuart, 17, as "quite simply the best candidate." The *London Times* also reports that, so far, 85 of the 670 candidates selected for the next general election to Parliament are women. That's not much more, proportionally, than in 1983, except that this time more of the women have been chosen for winnable seats.

**Chalk up** a victory for the forces of nuclear non-proliferation. The Nuclear Regulatory Commission this month ruled that weapons-grade uranium fuel be removed from some two dozen nuclear research reactors scattered around the U.S. Low security on university campuses and at other civilian sites had provoked fear that terrorists intent on making their own nuclear weapons might find all that uranium-235 easy picking. The reactors can now run on newly developed lower-grade fuel that would be of no use to thieves. "For the first time," says Steven Aftergood of the Committee to Bridge the Gap, "the atomic genie is, in some measure, being put back into the bottle."

**Flying rumors** have it that a bad phone connection is all that allowed Haiti's deposed despot Baby Doc Duvalier into France. Our unreliable sources say the French were just as surprised as the rest of us to have the Doctor in their house. "Duvalier?—I thought they said Chevalier." Thank heaven for little dictators.



By Carol Wise

LIMA, PERU

SIX MONTHS INTO HIS FIRST PRESIDENTIAL term, Alan Garcia Perez is filling the leadership void that has plagued his central Andean country for years. Relying on a combination of Great Society optimism and Peronist flamboyance, Garcia told the Peruvian congress during last July's inaugural address, "It is later than we think. The crisis is more serious than we think. And this compels us all to take the daring path of revolution to seek independence, development and social justice." Since then, not a week has passed without Garcia announcing another major measure in his self-designed "revolution," which he claims to have modeled after Felipe Gonzalez' social democratic efforts in Spain.

Once in office Garcia's American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA) party acted immediately on several campaign promises. State workers received a 15 percent salary hike and teachers 22 percent. A special National Fund for micro-regional development was set up to channel aid to the country's most economically deprived areas. And until December operations contracts with three major multinational petroleum firms were rescinded in an effort to renegotiate better terms for Peru.

Then on December 27 Garcia sent a shock-wave through international financial circles with the arbitrary "transfer" of operations of the New York-based Belco Petroleum company over to Peru's state petroleum enterprise. He claimed a mutually satisfactory agreement could not be reached on the terms of exploration, production and profit repatriation. With heavy pressure from the Reagan administration to reach a settlement, both sides continue to squabble over the amount Peru is to compensate Belco for the transfer.

But it was Garcia's first measure—the decision to set aside only 10 percent of Peru's export earnings for interest payments on the country's \$14 billion foreign debt—that led *Business Week* to nickname him the "bad boy" of international finance. On top of this, the APRA coalition has held steadfast in its refusal to negotiate with the International Monetary Fund (IMF)—the traditional mediator between the banks and the Third World debtors—and insists on dealing directly with the consortium of about 125 banks to which the country is indebted.

Speaking before the General Assembly at the United Nations' 40th anniversary last October, Garcia won a formal rebuke from Secretary of State George Shultz for threatening Peru's withdrawal from the IMF. Garcia told the UN that the IMF "does not have the moral authority to preach austerity in our country because during the '70s, when it was necessary to place petrodollars in credits for poor countries, it promoted indebtedness." Nor did Garcia wait around for the U.S. banks to declare the Peruvian debt "value-impaired": "The Peruvian debt is already value-impaired. We declare it to be so. What we should ask ourselves is how and by whom was our economy impaired...."

Although Peru is currently in the debt-crisis spotlight, this is hardly the first time a Latin debtor has taken a defiant stance. Bolivia told the banks and the IMF to take a walk in 1984, as did Argentine President Raul Alfonsin, and it has taken the IMF nearly two years to drag both to the bargaining table. Cuba's Fidel Castro has also been on the rampage the past year, depicting the IMF as an "imperialist devil" and advocating outright default on the grounds that the huge amounts owed are simply "unpayable."

It is not necessarily Peru's defiance that has evoked a sullen wait-and-see response from the international banking community. It seems to be more a matter of political timing, the relatively small amount owed and the extent to which Garcia has been able to interject the severe debt problem into his electoral campaign and the present debates about democracy in the region. He is surely the first to phrase the problem so forcefully or polemically in terms of "either

debt or democracy."

Interestingly, preliminary figures from Peru's Central Reserve Bank show that since the APRA's July victory interest payments on short- and medium-term debt, both public and private, have averaged about 30 percent of export earnings. Furthermore, the nation has long been one of the IMF's most cantankerous clients. As noted in a 1984 issue of the *Andean Report*, Peru has set the regional record for breaking IMF agreements before they have even been signed. Garcia's financial militance has garnered him a 90 percent opinion-poll vote of national confidence, according to Datum, a respected Lima pollster.

In a recent interview in Lima, one New York banker stated that a formal default action against Peru—beyond the U.S. banks' value-impaired ruling—was unlikely because "most of us realize that there are not enough assets there, which, if they were attached, would bring a greater return than sitting and waiting." Added another banker, "All sorts of options are still open for negotiations once we get past the rhetoric."

New York's bankers are not the only ones waiting for the rhetorical dust to settle. In a fairly generous assessment of Garcia's first 100 days in office published in the independent bi-monthly *Quehacer*, a range of colleagues to the left of Garcia worried about the APRA's ability to keep up the "social democratic" momentum—for which there are few historical precedents in Peru and even less of a fiscal base.

### Promises, promises

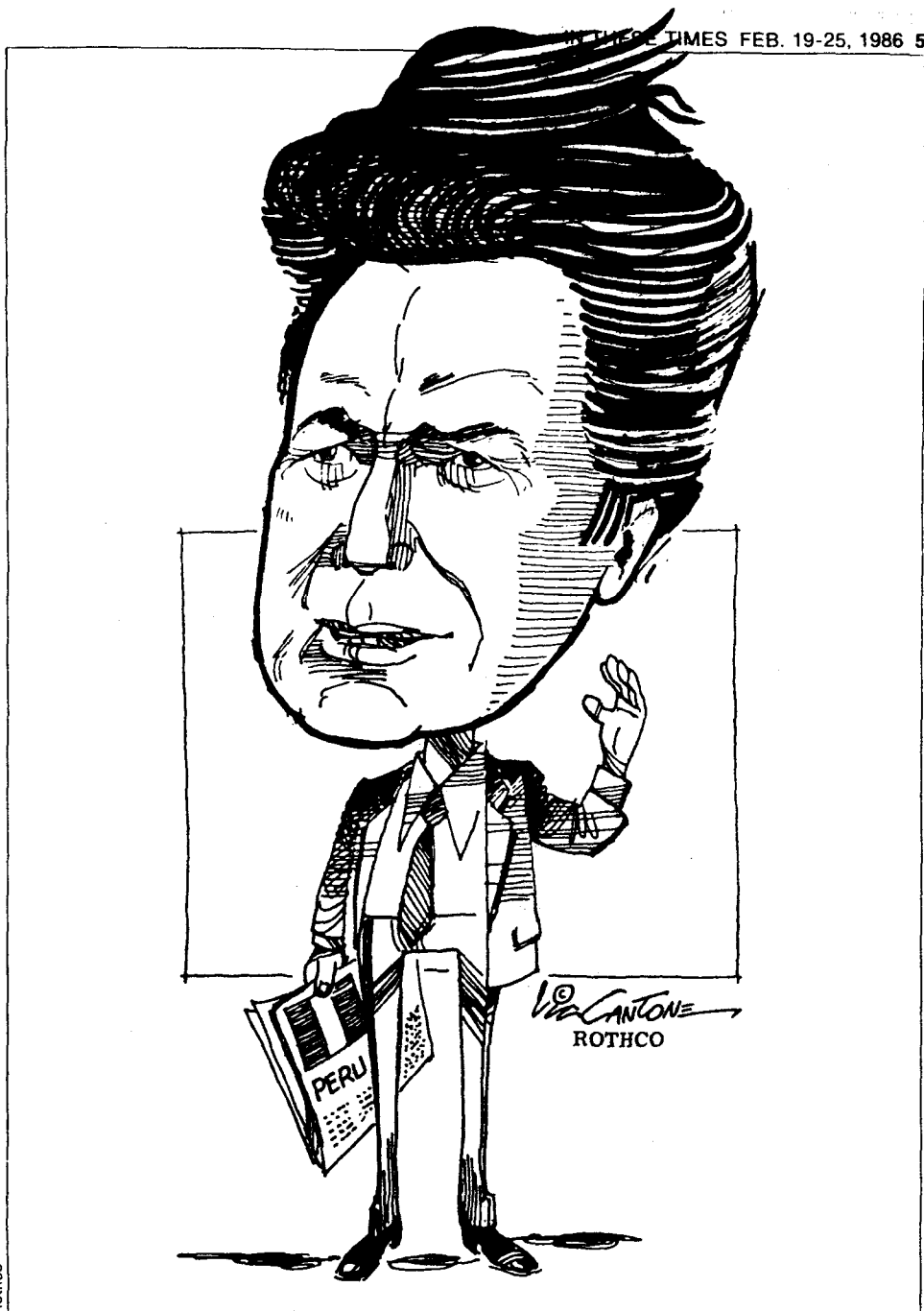
Garcia's left-wing political adversaries—who now share 25 percent of the congressional seats with the APRA majority—are also increasingly uncomfortable with the president's almost single-handed executive control over the APRA program. For some, Garcia's sweeping embracement of income redistribution, revival of agricultural production, decentralization of national resources, anti-imperialism and drug crackdowns is too reminiscent of the unfulfilled populist promises of Peru's military experiment in the '70s. It is the cumulative disappointments from these previous populist failures to which the guerrilla violence presently engulfing the nation is widely attributed.

With projected negative growth rates over the next five years and wages dropping by the day under inflationary pressure, no one on the left or right can dispute the APRA program's humanitarian value. The looming question is: where will the reformist resources come from?

The Senate tax committee has yet to fulfill its campaign promise of a comprehensive tax reform that "taxes the rich in favor of the poor." The APRA kept up with Peru's debt payments to other governments and official multi-lateral lenders, such as the Inter-American Development Bank, since they are developmental aid sources. But the regional demand for such aid has exploded to the point that the sums now available to Peru would be only a meager down payment for the numerous social democratic measures still forthcoming.

The APRA has taken an equally polemic stand on arms transfers and the unusually large portion of the national budget controlled by the Peruvian military. In his presentation to the UN Food and Agriculture Organization this past November in Rome, Garcia asserted that "democracy will not be possible until we convert arms into bread." So far this has meant a reduction in the number of Mirage jets to be purchased from the French and a commitment to cut back on the military budget. For the first time since the onset of the *Sendero Luminoso* guerrilla campaign six years ago, the armed forces are obliged to disclose the names of officials believed guilty of human rights violations and to try them in military courts. As a result of human rights abuses by the security forces, there has already been a major shake-up of the top military command in the southern Andean emergency zone.

According to Oscar Ugarteche of Lima's Instituto de Estudios Peruanos and author



*Business Week* pegged Alan Garcia Perez the "bad boy" of international finance.

## SOUTH AMERICA

# Peru walks through the valley of debt

of a soon-to-be-released book on the Peruvian debt, the percent of borrowed funds destined for defense spending during the 1980-85 Belaunde administration was "three times the amount spent by Velasco in the 1968-75 period and more than half of that spent by Morales," who was president during the second phase of the military regime from 1975-80. These figures tend to confirm the view of many local political analysts, who believe that Belaunde survived as long as he did because he handed the military a free rein both with the arms budget and in dealing with the regional insurgency. This autonomy is being further bolstered by the Reagan administration's eagerness to increase U.S. military aid to Peru nearly eight-fold over the next year, ostensibly to fight the "Soviet-Cuban threat" posed by *Sendero Luminoso*.

### Avoiding the tight squeeze

Thus far Garcia has avoided getting wedged between the Reagan defense mania on one hand and a powerful arms-hungry national military on the other. Instead the APRA has sought a regional strategy that draws on previous Latin American efforts to limit the acquisition of conventional and nuclear arms and that emphasizes the insidious connection between arms escalation, human rights abuses and the burgeoning debt problem. Peruvian Foreign Minister Allan Wagner recently announced that negotia-

tions with Chile are underway toward a new treaty that will "reduce arms expenditures and free these resources for investment in much more vital necessities." Because of Peru's failure to honor loan payments to the U.S. Agency for International Development's (USAID) foreign military sales and development program, AID's funds were frozen last October under the Brooke-Alexander amendment. Ironically, this is the only economic sanction leveraged by the U.S. against Peru thus far. Given Reagan's scheme to arm the already bloated Peruvian military many times over, this sanction may be a blessing in disguise.

Apart from the local consensus that the recently proposed "Baker Plan" is too skimpy and too tied to the IMF's free-market conditions for obtaining further loans, there are few signs of a regional response to the APRA's call for a Latin debtor's front to meet the banks head on. Except, perhaps for Fidel Castro's "nasty" remark that "if Latin America paid no more than the 10 percent of its export earnings as debt service, it would owe in 20 years five times what it owes today." While advocating a policy of nonpayment for everybody else, Cuba has promptly met its debt obligations to the Eastern bloc—hence the wrangle between Garcia and Castro.

The complete disinterest in Garcia's "10 percent solution" displayed by such mammoth debtors as Mexico, Argentina and Brazil is a clue to the banks' and the IMF's "divide and conquer" tactics. Mexico, for example, has followed the IMF austerity route closely over the past two years, so the banks recently "rewarded" it with a generous 14-year rescheduling of its \$96 billion debt on more lenient terms. Whereas Argentina and Brazil have had a harder time pulling off the austerity programs, they are

Garcia sent shockwaves through the financial world.



Continued from preceding page

clearly swayed by the conviction that they will gain in the economic long run by playing along with IMF rules. In response to Garcia and Castro's efforts to seek various alternatives, Mexican President Miguel de la Madrid retorted that "the debt problem cannot be resolved through confrontation or the repudiation of sworn obligations."

It appears, for now, that Peru may go the way of a number of other small Latin American debtors who have been in a chronic state of arrears and threatened with all kinds of international financial sanctions that, in reality, have rarely been applied with any consistency or force. For the most part this smaller bloc of such debtors as Bolivia and Jamaica—who owe much less—has neither the long-term financial prospects for recovery nor the consolidated political clout for carrying out a massive austerity program along the lines of a Mexico or a Brazil.

Peru's position in this less solvent group was confirmed by a recent World Bank Country Economic Memorandum, which said that "difficult as the short-term economic situation might appear, Peru's longer-term problems—deep ethnic, social and economic divisions, rapidly rising population, poor growth and severe structural weaknesses—are far more serious and intractable."

If Garcia's obstinance has done little to endear him to the Reagan administration, he has, ironically, captured the sympathy of the staunchly laissez-faire Heritage Foundation. In a July 1985 working paper

entitled "Peru's Fledgling Democracy Needs U.S. Help," the ultra-right Heritage Foundation cautioned "that the U.S. avoid joining creditor banks and the IMF efforts to force Peru to pay its \$13.5 billion debt without considering the political and long-term economic repercussions. U.S. aid and advice for Peru should aim at economic growth, not austerity." To consider economic aid without austerity is still akin to blasphemy in international financial circles. Yet there is some off-the-record talk in Lima's banking community of, as a last resort, capitalizing past interest payments and lowering current rates. Of course, beneath the Heritage Foundation's advice lies the conviction that Peru, plagued by its Maoist guerrilla problems, will be the next domino to fall. Which means that the U.S. probably won't squeeze any harder than it already has, despite its anathema for the Garcia line.

A series of teachers and banking strikes since November, continuing reports of human rights atrocities committed by the state security forces in the southern Andean region and several peasant land invasions on the coast have all led Garcia's left-wing opposition to pronounce that "the honeymoon is over." The right, still regrouping from its staggering losses in the last election, points to the hasty and impetuous decision on the oil contract negotiations with Belco as a sign of the APRA's incompetence. These attacks have been bolstered by the indefinite state of emergency imposed by Garcia since February 10 in greater metropolitan Lima.

The action was taken in the face of mounting urban terrorism and numerous kidnappings of members of Peru's wealthy industrial class.

Latin America's political honeymoons have, indeed, been truncated by the severe economic problems of the '80s. But in this case, if the honeymoon is over, the marriage is surely underway. The opposition doesn't hold a candle to "Alan's" charisma and has no concrete program of its own. Although the material realities are setting in, Garcia has told the people that they are "modern heroes.... We are going to suffer many difficulties, but I will be beside you as another soldier, another worker, another street vendor...." Thus far, this promise has been worth its weight in gold.

*Carol Wise, a visiting researcher at the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos in Lima, writes frequently for In These Times.*

## Marcos

Continued from page 3

of credibility necessary to restore the country's stability, and in the long run, to help protect such U.S. interests as two large military bases and economic privileges.)

By mid-afternoon on February 8, Aquino declared herself the election winner. She said her followers and supporters had overcome the massive cheating and garnered more votes than Marcos. She was quite firm in saying she would not accept defeat at the National Assembly's hands.

Marcos, however, does not appear likely to concede. He too says a victory is inevitable—but for him and his running mate Arturo Tolentino. He bases his claims on Comelec returns and the tallies of his party. He is relying on a thin veneer of legality to justify his victory in the eyes of the world. It is true that under the law the National Assembly is the only body authorized to conduct an official canvass and to declare a winner. It is also true that the National Assembly is tightly controlled by the ruling party.

Should Marcos be declared the winner, Aquino has pledged to lead daily demonstrations. Her backers are considering several options, said to include: establishment of a provisional government or a government in exile, massive civil disobedience and a general strike. Some of Aquino's more militant backers are thought to be considering joining the radical left in its armed and unarmed campaigns. And some may be considering their own armed activities.

Aquino and Jaime Cardinal Sin are attempting to keep the lid on an explosive situation by appealing to their followers' sobriety and by proposing nonviolent forms of protest. But with the suspect election and widespread disenchantment with traditional forms of protest, it is hard to see where Aquino would be able to lead her followers. It must be noted that while Aquino's supporters are adept at electoral politics, they have not shown much aptitude for street politics.

If a spontaneous outburst of anger does occur, it is likely to fizzle without skilled leadership. Yet the main center-left body of Aquino supporters is hoping Aquino's symbolic leadership will continue to be powerful and will allow a movement of nonviolent protests and civil disobedience to be successful.

To many, the most frightening possibility is that a terrorism campaign will be launched in the absence of a growing mass movement. The government has used the terrorism threat to prepare for a possible crack-down on dissent. But it has wrongly pointed at the banned Communist Party of the Philippines and New People's Army as the likely sources of such terrorism. Historically, terrorism in the Philippines under Marcos has come either from the government supporters or the small social democratic underground, and not from the Communist Party or the New People's Army.

"The Social Democrats approached the National Democratic Front asking for support in a campaign of bombings and arson here in the city," said a veteran National Democratic Front activist. (The Front consists of the Communist Party, the New People's Army and several sectarian organizations. All are underground.) "The National Democratic Front said it wouldn't support such a campaign, but it would not stop it. The Social Democrats think they can start an insurrection through terror. It's stupid."

Aquino and many on the left expect violence such as that proposed by the Social-Democratic underground to lead to more repression. The left expects repression to follow a Marcos victory—no matter what.

The mainstream left, which consists of the New Democratic Front and the New Patriotic Alliance, may yet emerge from this campaign as the biggest winner. Though it was sidetracked and relegated to the fringes of political life during the campaign, it remains the best organized and most experienced at extra-parliamentary politics. Its patient policies are less dependent on an unpredictable explosion of rage than the "insurrection now" desires of some Social-Democratic militants and some independent leftists.

Armed struggle as proposed by the New Democratic Front—coupled with the legal means utilized by groups such as New Patriotic Alliance and the KMU (May First Movement)—may appear to more and more people as the only means to oust Marcos and his regime. Also, continued U.S. support for Marcos, in the face of the election's many irregularities, may lead to increasing Filipino support for the left's anti-imperialist line.

*James B. Goodno is In These Times' correspondent in the Philippines.*

## INDEPENDENT VOICES, EAST AND WEST, SPEAK OUT AGAINST REAGAN'S NICARAGUA POLICY

As opponents of the Cold War East and West we protest the Reagan Administration's escalating war on Nicaragua. The nature of the Nicaraguan regime is not the issue. We defend the democratic right of every nation to self-determination in complete freedom from superpower control, whether that domination is justified by the Brezhnev doctrine in Eastern Europe and Afghanistan, or by Reagan's claims of U.S. special interests in Central America and the Caribbean. The application of force against weaker nations blocks democratic social and political change, tightens the superpowers' grip on their respective blocs and spheres of influence, and fuels the arms race with catastrophic consequences for all of us.

To escape from the current global impasse we must find a Third Way in which democratic activists and movements from around the world make common cause to build an alternative to both blocs. We are raising our voices in unison against this ominous heightening of the Cold War, and demand an immediate end to the United States' growing intervention in Nicaragua. We challenge the U.S. to set an example of non-interventionism, and we ask the Soviet Union to do the same in Eastern Europe and Afghanistan.

*The above statement opposing the Reagan Administration's policy on Nicaragua has been signed by leading peace, labor, social justice, religious and cultural figures from the United States, Western Europe and the Third World. For the first time they are joined in their opposition to U.S. interventionism by a large number of activists and writers from the Eastern bloc, many of whom have been persecuted in their own countries for work in independent peace and human rights movements.*

Statement circulated by the Campaign for Peace and Democracy/East and West and Across Frontiers Magazine

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Assoc. Coord., Hum. Rts./Global Justice Program, American Friends Service Committee  
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**Rabbi Ralfoe Brickner**  
Stephen Wise Free Synagogue  
**Frank Brodhead**  
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Chair, Friends of the Earth  
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**Ronald V. Dellums**  
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N.Y. Mobilization for Survival  
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Peace Activists East & West Coord. Comm.  
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New Politics  
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Fellow, Peace Development Fund  
**Charles Knight**  
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**Charles Komaroff**  
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N.Y. Catholic Worker  
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Bunting Institute (Radcliffe)  
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Sojourners  
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Hum. Rts. Office, Nat'l Council of Churches  
**Max & Sylvia Wohl**  
Socialist Party, Cleveland  
**Anne Zill**  
Fund for Constitutional Government

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**Jiri Dienstbier**  
Journalist; served prison term for civil rights activities  
**Jiri Hajek**  
Former foreign minister  
**Eva Kanterkova**  
Writer  
**Lubos Kohout**  
Former Prof., now works as laborer  
**Vaclav Malý**  
Cath. priest banned by State from exercising pastoral duties  
**Milos Rejchrt**  
Protestant clergyman  
**Jaroslav Sabata**  
Former univ. lecturer; formerly on Communist Party Central Comm. imprisoned 8 years for civil rights work  
**Anna Sabatova**  
Activist; served 2 1/2 years in prison  
**Zdena Tomin**  
Exiled novelist  
**Petr Uhl**  
Teacher; now a stoker; 9 years in prison

### EAST GERMANY

**Barbel Bohley**  
Women for Peace  
**Werner Fischer**  
Independent peace activist

**Ralf Hirsch**  
Independent peace activist  
**Roland Jahn**  
Independent peace activist; forcibly expelled in 1982  
**Gerd Poppe**  
Independent peace activist  
**Ulrike Poppe**  
Women for Peace  
**Lutz Rathenow**  
Author & playwright; imprisoned for publishing a book abroad  
**Rudiger Rosenthal**  
Independent peace activist

### HUNGARY

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Founder, "AB" samizdat publishers  
**Istvan Eorsi**  
Writer, poet and playwright  
**Gyorgy Konrad**  
Novelist and essayist  
**Gyorgy Petri**  
Poet  
**Laszlo Rajk**  
Samizdat publisher; son of L. Rajk, former Communist minister executed in show trial

### POLAND

**Jacek Czaputowicz**  
Polish independent peace movement "Wolnosc i Pokoj" ("Freedom and Peace")  
**Jan Jozef Lipski**  
Solidarnosc activist; member of a U.R. (Workers' Defense Committee); imprisoned under martial law  
**USSR**  
**Sergei & Natasha Batovits**  
Founding members, independent Soviet peace movement; now in NYC  
**Marya & Vladimir Fleishgaker**  
Founding members, independent Soviet peace movement; now in NYC  
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Writer, living in W. Germany

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**Mihailo Markovic**  
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**Milan Nikolic**  
Sociologist; tried for paper written at Brandeis U.

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**Father Ernesto Balducci**  
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**Wim Bartels**  
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**Simone de Beauvoir**  
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**Carlos Fuentes**  
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**Gunter Grass**  
German writer  
**Mary Kaldor**  
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**Petra Kelly**  
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ITT



## ITALY

# Low-intensity war against Arabs

By Diana Johnstone

**T**HE MOST ACTIVE ANTI-SEMITISM in the West today is directed against the *other* Semites—the Arabs. There are parallels with past outbreaks of anti-Semitism against Jews. Rich Arabs have lent a lot of money to Western banks. As the time draws near when the banks might have serious trouble paying back debts, the Western world discovers that Arabs are poisoning the wellsprings of civilization. They are "terrorists," they are "destabilizers," they are surrogates for the Evil Empire.

This is most apparent in Italy, where American influence and the media—which often amounts to the same thing—are pushing the country into a new policy of low-intensity conflict with much of the Arab world. This will require serious foreign policy changes and probably a new Italian government by year's end. The mood is being set by sustained indignation over presumably Arab-backed Palestinian terrorism, plus a new (to Italy) current of racism fueled by resentment of rich Arabs and by fear of the growing presence of poor immigrants from the African continent and the Mideast.

Italian foreign policy has been based on preserving good relations with both sides in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Recently this has involved a distribution of roles among the government's three top figures. The Republican defense minister, Giovanni Spadolini, kept close to the U.S. and Israel. The Christian Democratic foreign minister, Giulio Andreotti—a major political figure quite beyond suspicion of harboring leftist sympathies—kept up relations with the more radical Arab states, Libya and Syria, in the hope of eventually being able to use Italian influence to promote a peace settlement with Israel. In the middle, the Socialist prime minister, Bettino Craxi, tried to promote moderation through friendship with Egypt and Tunisia and by trying to offer balanced criticism of Arab extremism and Israeli intransigence.

This policy has been based on the widespread conviction that a compromise settlement could be reached between Israel and Yasser Arafat's Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) that would simultaneously solve the problems of Palestinian statelessness and Israeli security. The Israeli bombing raid last October 1 on PLO headquarters near Tunis was probably a fatal blow to this policy. A dozen Tunisians were among the 73 people killed by the raid, which was hailed by the White House and probably assisted by the U.S. Navy.

Such treatment produced deep shock in moderate Tunisia. To reassure his Tunisian friends that they had not been abandoned by the West, Craxi expressed his "profound indignation" at the Israeli raid. This and the ensuing events—the *Achille Lauro* hijacking, the U.S. interception of the Egyptian Boeing forcing it to land in Sicily—shook apart the Italian government coalition. Spadolini resigned, demanding a clear alignment with the U.S. and Israel. Craxi managed to get a mandate from the Italian parliament to put the coalition back together, but its days are numbered.

The talk of Italy is the power struggle between the uncrowned king of Italian industry, Giovanni Agnelli of FIAT, and Craxi. Agnelli's financial empire recently acquired a 59 percent majority in the major Rizzoli press group, which includes the Milan-based newspaper *Corriere della Sera* with the largest circulation in Italy. Since FIAT also owns the Turin daily *La Stampa*, this gives Agnelli the lion's share of the press in the industrial and financial centers of northern Italy. Craxi's faithful deputy in the Italian Socialist Party (PSI), Claudio Martelli, has complained that the FIAT "monopoly" of the northern Italian press

"is all the more worrisome if we take into account the policy of FIAT. Agnelli seems to be a citizen of the U.S. more than of Italy."

The weekly *Panorama* suggested, "FIAT is really disappointed with the Craxi government's economic policy, after the promising start in 1984. Some people stress that the strategic interest of the Turin colossus—meaning FIAT—are pushing it ever closer to the high-technology countries, starting with the U.S., and that this is provoking a growing irritation toward the foreign policy most dear to Craxi, obsessively projected toward the Mediterranean."

Ten years ago it seemed quite a coup when Agnelli persuaded Libya's Col. Muammar Khadafy to invest a big hunk of Libyan oil money in FIAT—13 percent of its shares. But today there is much less reason to court Arab oil money. The Arab states are saturated with weapons sold to them by all the Western powers. The drop in oil prices is reducing the Arab states' purchasing power and is making them less interesting customers. As for Arab investment capital, where can it go to earn high interest except to the U.S. or Western Europe? True, there are a multitude of small or medium-sized Italian companies doing good business with Libya and other Arab countries, and Craxi and Andreotti are trying to look out for their interests. But those interests may conflict with those of a big multinational like FIAT.

### The sure thing

The surest way to make money these days is Star Wars contracts. Star Wars requires militarization. Militarization requires an enemy. "International terrorism" will do just fine.

Agnelli has always preferred the small laic parties, especially the Republicans, to the Christian Democrats. But the current chairman of the Christian Democratic party, Ciriaco De Mita, has turned his back on the social priorities of the Catholic party in favor of economic policies more in line with those of Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher. De Mita's recent trip to Washington—where he received the blessings of the Empire from Reagan at the White House—was viewed in Italy practically as a mandate to form the next government.

Meanwhile, Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres attacked Craxi in an interview with the weekly *Espresso*. "I do not believe Craxi can play a peace-maker role by adopting a unilateral attitude. If he wants to contribute, he must be a friend of both sides," said Peres, who maintained that Craxi was "on one side against Israel." After expressing satisfaction that "Reagan represents the majority in the U.S., he's a reliable ally of Israel and in the front line of the fight against international terrorism," Peres went on to say: "I think simply that if Italy doesn't get organized, it risks suffering a lot. I mean that terrorism can endanger the lives of many innocent people and also economic activity. And it can also create the impression that Italy is soft on terrorism."

To Italians sensitive to the insinuations of "Mafia language," this sounded like a scarcely veiled threat to use Israel's influence on U.S. policy to punish Italy unless Italian policy got into line.

Having Labor Party leader Peres as prime minister has helped Israel mend fences with European government or party leaders who are fellow members of the Socialist International after the estrangement caused by Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon. Mitterrand has renewed France's tradition of close cooperation with Israel in nuclear and intelligence matters, interrupted by De Gaulle. Peres' "close friend," Spanish President Felipe Gonzalez, got his country to establish diplomatic relations with Israel for the first time. Peres' term in office has clearly



Giovanni Spadolini (above) and Bettino Craxi (below)



## Waging war requires foreign policy changes and a new government by year's end.

paid off, but it is scheduled to end in eight months. The "peace process" that Peres was supposed to be advancing dramatically will then be turned over to Likud leader Itzhak Shamir, the former chief of the terrorist Stern gang.

"If at the end of his mandate, Peres cannot show a record of progress to a future of peace for his country and neighboring peoples, he can celebrate the failure of a policy and I will be the first to regret it," Craxi said recently. He may find himself out of office about the same time as Peres, although he is not known to give in easily.

### The impossible dream?

A majority of Italians almost certainly approve of Craxi's policy. So, probably, does a majority of the parliament: not the majority that supports the existing five-party coalition, but a different theoretical majority comprising Craxi's Socialists, several factions of Christian Democrats and the Italian Communist Party. This has set some advocates of a "left alternative" to dreaming of a Craxi government supported by the Communists on the basis of a program rather than a party coalition. Some Communists hope that Craxi is ambitious enough to turn to them rather than accept the heave-ho. But it scarcely seems realistic to imagine an Italian government that does not have the U.S. stamp of approval. Besides, it is the president, Christian Democrat Fran-

In fact, it is Spadolini who is riding high and setting policy. Stressing Italy's "Western consciousness, Western soul," he preaches the need for the country "to get farther away from Mediterranean and North African temptations, and cling desperately to the Alps as its point of contact with the Western world." Spadolini allows one exception to this repugnance for the Mediterranean south—Israel. "It is not easy to be a friend of Israel in Italy. But for me it's a moral question," Spadolini told the Israeli press.

Spadolini defined his country's new defense policy at an historic January 31 session of Italy's Supreme Defense Council, made up of President Cossiga, Prime Minister Craxi, leading cabinet ministers and the armed forces chief of staff. Priority was officially shifted from the potential enemy in the East to the threat from the South. "The threat to our security doesn't come only from the Northeast.... The Mediterranean is our new frontier, the Southern front is the bastion our soldiers must man," said Spadolini. "The danger is international terrorism, in the sense of a strategy adopted by states and governments of the region to destabilize the area without recourse to traditional offensives, the defense minister added.

Spadolini and much of the Italian press tried to make this shift sound like an assertion of "independence" from NATO that is dictated by specifically Italian security needs. In reality, it is mere obedience to the Reagan administration line laid down in January 1981 by Reagan's first secretary of state, Alexander Haig, when he gave priority to the fight against "international terrorism." The assertion that "international terrorism" is part of a "strategy" to "destabilize" Western democracy has become a standard Reaganite cliché.

Yet there is no evidence that the claim is true, or even that it means anything. It seems to be essentially a case of projection—that is, the Reagan administration is definitely trying to "destabilize" regimes it doesn't like (in Nicaragua and Angola, for instance) through "low intensity warfare" and projects its own motivations onto the other side. This is part of the spreading Reagan Doctrine on the Third World, a war that is cheaper and safer than war with the Soviet Union. Instead of American boys, "proxy forces" and mercenaries may be employed. There is no need actually to win, only to keep the target country drained and destabilized. There is the chance that the people being destabilized may try to destabilize back—which would be "international terrorism."

The need for the U.S. to get involved in the war against international terrorism in order to keep the money flowing into Star Wars and other Pentagon pursuits was discussed in a recent article by Joshua Muravchik of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy. By his reluctance to fight, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger "may have succeeded in giving the defense cutters the tool they finally need to overcome his resistance. What is the purpose, they and the taxpayers may ask, of acquiring all those weapons if the circumstances under which they may be used almost never arise?" Muravchik wrote.

The secretary of the Italian Supreme Defense Council, Gen. Pietro Corsini, simply translated this need for war into Italian when he said recently that the nuclear balance of terror between the two superpowers had made direct war unlikely. "What thus becomes more profitable and less dangerous is a strategy of indirect warfare that finds its highest expression in international terrorism and in the pan-Islamic dream of Col. Muammar Khadafy." This is ideological conformity, not analysis.

On February 4, Israeli fighter planes forced down a Libyan executive jet in an unsuccessful search for Palestinian terrorist leaders. This flagrant violation of international law was denounced throughout the region, and in Israel by Knesset member Matti Peled, as "state terrorism." But this time Craxi said nothing, to the surprise of observers.



# SURRENDER

By David Morse

DUQUESNE, PA

**D**OROTHY SIX IS, FOR ALL PRACTICAL purposes, dead. The 26-year-old blast furnace that U.S. Steel wanted to tear down and workers wanted to save has finally succumbed—not to the wrecking-ball but to the results of a feasibility study.

The significance of Dorothy's rise and fall extends well beyond Pennsylvania's Mon Valley because the project shows both the potential power of grassroots organizers to save threatened industries and the economic powers arrayed against them. For several agonizing months, steelworkers in the Mon Valley had awaited the outcome of an independent feasibility study that would determine whether the big furnace could be restarted economically as a stand-alone facility, probably under some form of worker ownership.

Hopes had been raised a year earlier when a pilot study suggested that the furnace—located outside Pittsburgh in the town of Duquesne—might play a key role in halting the industrial erosion that has laid waste to the Mon Valley. Commissioned by the steelworkers' union and carried out by Locker/Albrecht Associates, the preliminary study concluded: a growing market exists for the Duquesne mill's semi-finished steel products—slabs and other marketable shapes that are the basic feedstock of the steel finishing industry; production costs could be kept low enough to compete successfully with low-priced imports of foreign slabs.

Mingled with the hope was plain-and-simple patriotism. Dorothy would be filling a gap in the "hot end" of American steel-making—the most crucial but least profitable part of the spectrum, which is being abandoned most rapidly by American steel-makers as they face global overcapacity. (This country has only 46 blast furnaces still operating, out of 200 operating seven years ago. The U.S. is the only advanced industrial nation incapable of meeting domestic steel needs.) So the project had enormous appeal, serving as a bridge between academics and blue-collar workers, between clergy and pols, and even between the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) headquartered in downtown Pittsburgh and the maverick locals out in the Valley.

That Dorothy's slabs would be competing with imports rather than with domestic producers had another virtue. Presumably this would facilitate cooperative arrangements for marketing and distribution. This prospect, along with the possibility of worker-community ownership, excited hopes that a born-again Dorothy might signal a turnaround for American steelmaking.

On the basis of the optimistic Locker/Albrecht study, it remained for a larger investment banking firm with credibility on Wall

Street to complete a more comprehensive study and draw up a financial package to attract private capital. Chosen for this role was the investment banking firm Lazard Freres & Co., which had drawn up the Employee Stock Ownership Plan package for Weirton Steel. The Lazard Freres report, originally scheduled for release early last fall, would provide the last word for potential investors.

With the delays, however, the mood in the Valley grew cautious. And when the report was finally released on January 8 all hopes were dashed. The authors reported that while a market unquestionably exists for Dorothy's output, it is highly segmented and demands so wide a variety of sizes and grades of steel that a large and highly sophisticated caster would be needed. (Continuous casters generally have become a bellwether for investment in steelmaking facilities: a plant without one is a plant whose days are numbered.) In Dorothy Six's case, the caster recommended by outside experts would cost at least \$132.5 million.

Along with other capital improvements and operating expenses, including transportation and marketing, this would raise the cost of Dorothy's steel to more than \$262 per ton. At that price it could no longer compete with foreign slabs. The most optimistic projections, with the mill operating at 90 percent of capacity, suggested Dorothy would lose nearly \$28 per ton. The report concludes, "reluctantly but necessarily, that...under current circumstances financing for the rehabilitation of Dorothy Six will not be forthcoming from the private capital markets."

## High-tech vs. low jobs

Reaction to the news varied widely in Pittsburgh, where a covert war smolders between proponents of blue-collar jobs and advocates of a high-tech future for the region. Commentators of every political stripe claimed victory. Radio station KQV, owned by anti-labor steel heir Richard Scafe, broadcast a gleeful editorial on the theme that sometimes you can't see the forest for the trees, and that Dorothy Six had been "the biggest local tree," blocking the public's vision of a regional economy based on "futuristic technology, computers, robots and the service industries." The *Pittsburgh Press* editorialized that U.S. Steel was right all along in wanting to kill off the furnace, whose demise might now have the "healthy effect of turning energies away from trying to revive the past in the Mon Valley and toward wooing new industries that will be the wave of the future."

The *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* expressed disappointment, noting that the campaign to save Dorothy Six had "resonated with public support" and quelled apathy toward the future of steel in the Mon Valley. The project had spurred public officials into a "more creative and active role in the formidable

job of shoring up the region's shrinking base of manufacturing industries." The editorial called for an accord among U.S. Steel, the United Steelworkers and the local governments on terms for modernizing other steel-making facilities in the Mon Valley.

The latter point was emphasized in the union's response. Lefty Palm, director of USWA District 15, said that on the basis of the study the union would "insist" that U.S. Steel install a continuous caster at the Edgar Thomson Works, the smaller furnace remaining to serve the Valley. Presumably such insistence would be included in the next contract negotiations, representing a potentially significant shift in the union's position. Palm defended the need for an independent study, whatever its conclusions: "Our union didn't come into existence because we trusted the word of U.S. Steel."

He also noted that the study represented a first step toward "a new process" in motion. "We are putting corporate America on notice that before a company throws workers out of jobs we are first going to find a way to require access to operating data and the financing of studies by independent organizations to give us information that prevents a shutdown."

Members of the Tri-State Conference on Steel—the group of steelworkers, clergy and community activists that led the fight to save Duquesne—voiced similar confidence. Jim Benn, staff coordinator of Tri-State, expressed disappointment in the study's findings, but noted that the study was specific to Dorothy Six and affirmed the likelihood that endangered facilities elsewhere in the Valley might be saved. Tri-State's purpose all along was larger than any one mill, he emphasized.

"Duquesne was in many ways a distraction for us. It became a one-plant fight," Benn said. Nevertheless, the fight around Duquesne raised awareness and helped forge an enduring political alliance among labor and community interests; it built credibility for Tri-State, moved the union into a more creative role and served as a catalyst in the formation of the Steel Valley Authority, according to Benn.

## The fight has just begun

"The struggle for Duquesne and the results of the study have brought more voices to the demand for a Valley-wide assessment of basic industry," Benn said. That is the bright side: in a real sense, the fight has just begun.

Yet disturbing questions remain. First, why were the findings of the two feasibility studies so wildly disparate? Bob Erickson, an economist and member of Tri-State, confessed that "the size of the gap was a shock to everybody."

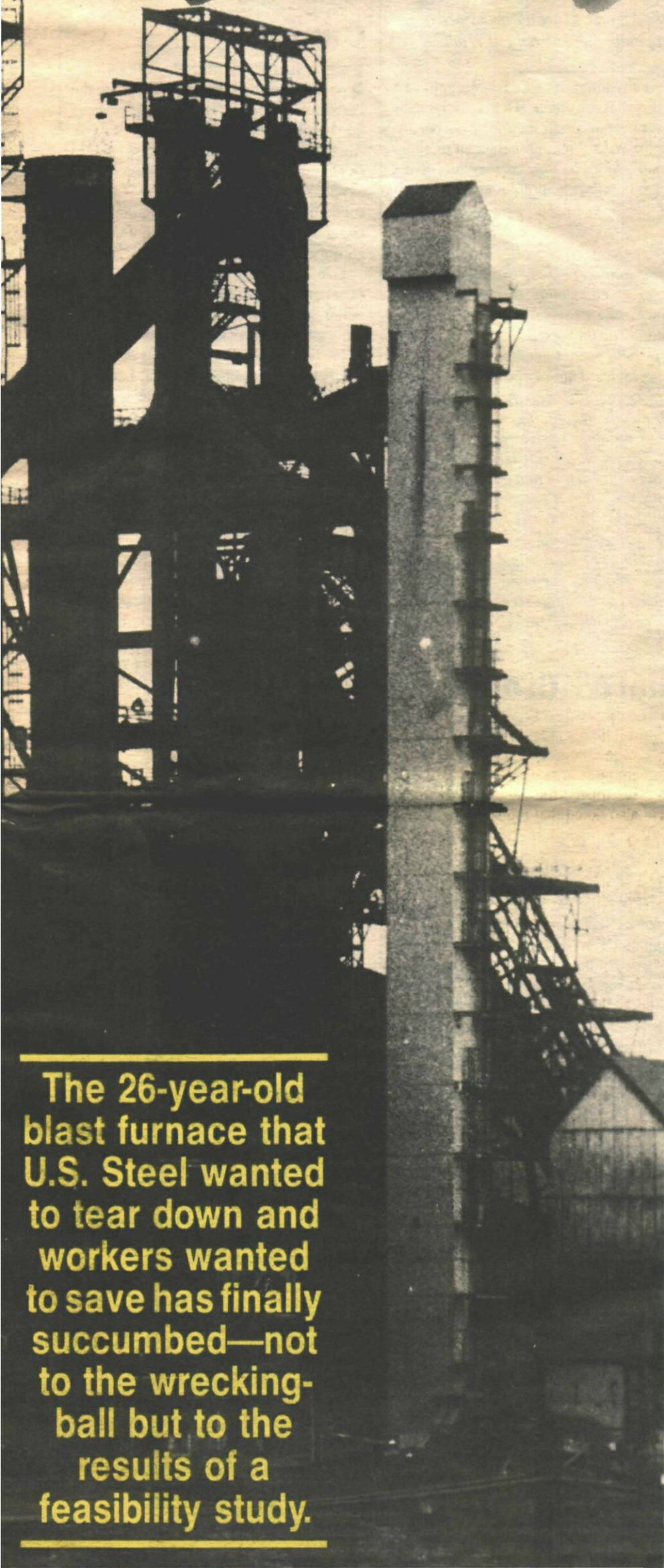
One reason is that U.S. Steel refused to cooperate for the first study—Locker/Albrecht is a small, labor-oriented firm—but the steelmaker opened some of its books for Lazard Freres. Consequently, the au-

thors of the two reports held different assumptions of U.S. Steel's attitude toward a stand-alone Dorothy Six.

Mike Locker of Locker/Albrecht took the position that a cooperative, even symbiotic, relationship might develop between Dorothy Six and U.S. Steel's other mills. For instance, a mutually advantageous bargain might be struck that used U.S. Steel's vast—and underutilized—rail and barge network for transporting raw materials, in exchange for slabs. Or U.S. Steel might



# DOROTHY



**The 26-year-old blast furnace that U.S. Steel wanted to tear down and workers wanted to save has finally succumbed—not to the wrecking-ball but to the results of a feasibility study.**

permit the new firm to use its primary rolling mill on a royalty basis. Deals of this sort are common in the industry, where supplier and buyer are not competing for market share. If a truly "captive" relationship were desired by both parties, U.S. Steel might even help capitalize the new company and be represented on the board of trustees.

At Lazard Freres, however, it soon became evident that no such cooperation was anticipated from U.S. Steel. Analyst Rosa Torres-Tumazos, who was under contract to

Lazard Freres and enjoyed access to U.S. Steel executives, was forced to take a hard-nosed approach to create realistic alternative scenarios. Under one scheme Dorothy Six would produce "merchant" slabs—a term suggesting that the blast furnace would function much as a "job" printer or a "tramp" freighter, wholly at the mercy of market forces. Unfortunately, this scenario raised cost projections for raw materials, transportation and continuous caster design.

Rosa Torres-Tumazos stood by her thumbs-

down recommendation. To resurrect Dorothy Six under such conditions would "only prolong the agony," she observed privately.

Mike Locker was less sanguine. "We had a lot of things going against us," he said, citing lack of cooperation not only from the companies but also from the federal government, which might have intervened to cut transportation and interest costs. "The level of slab importation is above Reagan's targeted amount," he noted, probably as high as 2.5 million tons and well above the 1.7 million ton benchmark established by the president. And today's artificially high dollar means that foreign slabs that normally would sell for \$270 now sell for as little as \$220. Bring the dollar under control, Locker suggested, "and Dorothy Six would be viable."

Asked whether he could envision any circumstances that would have enticed U.S. Steel into a more cooperative stance, Locker answered. "Given their overall strategy, no. They told us in no uncertain terms that if the facility went they would throw everything they had at it to compete with it."

U.S. Steel's hostility to the enterprise didn't surprise coalition organizers. "Nobody in the coalition had any illusions that U.S. Steel would cooperate," Benn said.

But the company's eagerness to kill the project raises another, more far-reaching question. If the nation's number one steel-maker is pulling out of the Mon Valley, as all indicators suggest—if indeed its plan is to get out of basic steel entirely, as some observers suspect—then why murder its offspring in the crib?

The answer is evident when we consider that at the very time the feasibility studies were being conducted (and despite vigorous denials to the contrary) U.S. Steel was secretly negotiating a deal with South Korea's huge Pohang Steel Co. (POSCO) to import slabs for rolling at its Pittsburgh, Calif., works.

## The irony of it all

Because of overland transport costs, the South Korean slabs, aimed at the West Coast, will compete for the most part indirectly in the Midwestern and East Coast markets served by Duquesne. But the joint-venture with POSCO will allow U.S. Steel to shut down its slabmaking facility at Geneva, Utah, and it has an obvious parallel in the company's efforts two years ago to import slabs to the East Coast from Scotland, so that it could shut down its slabmaking facilities at its Fairless works rather than modernize them.

The irony—and there is more irony than steel these days in U.S. Steel's operations—is that the cooperative arrangements that the company is willing to make with foreign producers in South Korea, Taiwan and South Africa are precisely the sort needed to give the Dorothy Six project a fighting chance. The irony is compounded when one considers that the above-mentioned foreign

producers are subsidized, directly and indirectly, by their governments. U.S. Steel President David Roderick is fond of making this point in other contexts, such as when he complains about "unfair dumping."

For that matter, both the Duquesne and the Geneva plants were built by the U.S. government during World War II and afterward sold to U.S. Steel for a fraction of their cost to taxpayers. Yet Dorothy Six—a project that would have saved 500 jobs directly and several thousand indirectly, and that might have served as a bulwark against further erosion of American steelmaking—was allowed to perish without a penny from federal coffers.

## The cryptic message

As for U.S. Steel's future in the steel business, the final cryptic message from the Dorothy affair is that U.S. Steel will probably remain in the profitable finishing end of the steel industry—at least for a while. Roderick will no doubt continue to call for protection against "predatory" pricing of foreign slabs until the company's policy of reducing domestic slabmaking capacity creates a shortage that will allow the company to engage in some predatory pricing of its own.

The Reagan administration's indifference to projects such as Dorothy Six may stem from an ideological reluctance to tamper with the "free" market. Or this policy may be an effort to reward Cold War allies with a piece of the American market. But, whatever the rationale, it's clear that without government intervention the U.S. will lose most of its hot end capacity within five years. Moreover, modern steelmaking practices dictate that wherever the hot end goes, in time the finishing end follows. And with the finishing end will go hundreds of steel-consuming enterprises, from automotive to robotics and spaceage alloys, and millions of jobs.

The assumptions underlying the Steel Valley Authority are alive and well—thanks to the lessons learned from Dorothy Six. A wide variety of community and labor groups now know that corporate decisions can be challenged; that blue-collar workers can commission feasibility studies; that municipalities can exercise their power of eminent domain to take over plants for the "public good"; that a coalition including trade unions, clergy and community groups can make its voice heard. Even now, Tri-State Conference on Steel is turning its attention to the Westinghouse Airbrake and Union Switch & Signal plants, and feasibility studies are underway at Aliquippa.

Mike Locker believes that the coalition's acceptance of the negative findings has enhanced its credibility. "They'll find a project that *will* be feasible." And when they do, he adds, "They won't be questioned about whether they're just blowing smoke." ■

**David Morse** is writing a book on the steel industry.

David Morse



## LETTERS

## Sick joke

OF THE MANY ARTICLES ABOUT THE "FARM problem" I've read lately, David Moberg's (ITT, Jan. 22) comes closest to getting at the real issue.

As a farmer just barely holding on, and having lost at least three-fourths of what it took two generations to build (all this loss during the Reagan administration) I feel qualified to have an opinion.

Washington-based columnists and government economists don't appear to understand what is wrong "down on the farm." It is simply this: we have been selling our product for less than the cost of production for so long we are all used up. For years, it has been a sort of sick joke that if "one inherited a farm clear of debt, with good management and hard work one could afford to farm for at least 10 years before losing it." This, with 5-10 percent inflation and 8-10 percent interest.

Washington is now trying to sell another bill of goods—export at less than cost, to a world that is by and large already raising a surplus of food, thanks to the Green Revolution. The only people who benefit from this are the grain and fertilizer dealers.

The rural economy is sick in America. Ten farmers going belly-up usually equals one small business following. One small business down the tube means two or three people lose their jobs. They can always get a job at the local fast food, for \$2 an hour, and eat imported beef.

The answer is simple: we need limited production, at a price that brings in a small profit. All surplus can be given away, or put into a grain bank for a rainy day. Give the surplus to our own poor in this country. This plan also gives a little consideration to the next generations of hungry mouths.

Government needs to do for its people what it cannot do for itself: issue production limits for all and quit trying to hog the world market.

Do our auto, steel, etc., manufacturers get out of "over-production" by producing more and selling for less than cost? Only farmers try to do this.

John Boehner  
Brookfield, Mo.

## Head on backward

WHAT'S WRONG WITH THIS SENTENCE: "While the number of male heads of family holding jobs declined, the number of married women holding jobs increased" (John Judis, Inside Story, Jan. 29)? Hint: even the U.S. Census Bureau no longer refers to husbands as "heads"

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of their families.

Given that Judis finds nothing positive to say about the massive influx of women into the workforce, his choice of terms is interesting, to say the least.

Katha Pollitt  
New York

## Terror

YOUR EDITORIAL (JAN. 29) SUGGESTED that we consider the root causes of terrorism and stated that terrorists "turn to killing when their hopes of independence and self-determination are trampled by nations too powerful to confront directly." This suggests that if the methods of terrorists are unfortunate, their ultimate goals are legitimate. Let us, however, examine the root causes and goals of Palestinian terrorism against Israel.

Clearly, the Palestinians do not have self-determination. But what is the appropriate solution to this problem? Is it the destruction of Israel and the denial of Jewish self-determination that would result, or is it a compromise, in which the Palestinians would have a homeland alongside Israel? In *These Times*, to its credit, has shown that it favors a compromise in which both sets of national rights are respected.

The root cause of terror, however, is not Israel's failure to compromise, but the failure of the PLO and other Palestinian groups to do likewise. Let us not forget that the PLO was formed (before the Israeli occupation of the West Bank) with the explicit purpose of eliminating Israel. While top PLO figures, including Arafat, periodically suggest to Western journalists that they are now willing to live alongside Israel in exchange for a West Bank state, they have repeatedly disavowed those statements later.

With the exception of the Likud-led governments, the general policy of Israel has been a willingness to trade large parts of the West Bank for peace. While Israeli governments have refused to accept the PLO as a bargaining partner, this is not out of hatred of the Palestinians. Rather, it is out of a conviction that the PLO's fundamental purpose is the destruction of Israel. As indicated, the PLO has done

little, if anything, to make Israelis believe that this has changed. Hence, Israelis, however unenthusiastic they are about occupying the West Bank, are reluctant to give up that territory as long as they fear that it will be used as a springboard to attack Israel.

Stan Kaplowitz  
East Lansing, Mich.

**Editor's note:** The only solution to the problem of Palestinian displacement is, as Stan Kaplowitz seems to agree, a Palestinian state on the West Bank and an agreement by both parties to respect the other's national rights. That can be accomplished only by negotiating with the Palestinians, which means negotiating with the PLO. There is no other choice. True, the PLO has called repeatedly for Israel's destruction, but it is also true that it has indicated in many ways that it is ready to abandon that position. The PLO is Israel's enemy. Israel is the Palestinians' enemy. But peace can be established only when enemies recognize each other and display willingness to negotiate. On this, the PLO seems ready, while Israel does not.

## B'nai B'rith objects

I AM DISMAYED AND ANNOYED AT THE ANTI-Israeli and anti-Jewish innuendo in Diana Johnstone's article about the recent terrorist attack at the Rome airport recently (ITT, Jan. 15). In her article she says that the Israeli security guards "were particularly active in the shoot-out," implying that they somehow should be less active, that is, they should have allowed the terrorists to continue firing. She attempts to make us feel sorry for the "youngest Palestinian terrorist, age 17" being struck by 11 Israeli bullets. Were the Israeli security guards supposed to allow this terrorist to continue firing because of his age?

She goes on to mention an unnamed "eye witness" who said that the Israelis "finished off a wounded terrorist," but fails to get a comment from the Israelis or name the eye witness. She then goes on to say that some of the "bystanders were hit by bullets from the rescuers," somehow indicating that the Israelis were themselves responsible for the terrorist attack and the resulting deaths.

So here we have, in rather typical anti-Semitic stereotyping, that the Israelis, because of their ability to fire quickly, were somehow at fault. Johnstone in her writing manages to accuse the Israelis of murder where it was clearly the terrorists who did the killing and began this revolting activity. This is really a new tack in "blaming the victim." It seems then that the Jews are either blamed for not defending themselves (the Holocaust) or in this case for defending themselves too effectively.

Johnstone fails to include in her description of the shoot-out all the victims who are not Palestinians as if they did not exist and tries to make the Palestinian terrorists victims themselves. This kind of writing does very little for the truth.

Michael Brown  
New England director, B'nai B'rith  
Brighton, Mass.

**Editor's note:** None of the information in Diana Johnstone's article is questioned by Michael Brown, and his interpretation is his alone. Most disturbing about this letter is the implication that a straightforward description of the actions of Israeli security guards is considered not only anti-Israel, but also anti-Semitic. This

reasoning is analogous to that of Communists in the '40s and '50s who took every factual comment about Soviet society to be red-baiting. The stereotyping is Brown's, in our opinion, not Johnstone's.

## Camels

IT IS INTERESTING THAT YOU CHOSE TWO Arab men riding camels to illustrate the Perspective article "Despite appearances the Israeli left is rising" (ITT, Dec. 10). Are these Israeli leftists in disguise? Could *In These Times* not find any Israeli leftists to photograph? Or perhaps there is a more subtle message. At first glance, the photo and the article are not related, but the two go quite well together.

Eric Lee quotes extensively from an Israeli newspaper *Al Hamishmar* article by its editor Saber Platzker to argue that the Israeli left's influence is rising. This left is defined as the Israeli Labor Party, and the democratic left within the labor alignment. Let me remind Lee that the Labor alignment, not the Likud, was the architect of the settlement policy in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Second, Lee quotes Platzker as saying that it is "permitted to use the term 'Palestinian' without being called an infidel." In the context of Golda Meier's statement, "Who are the Palestinians? They do not exist," this is a step forward. But this is the only reference to Palestinians in the article, Palestinians as a political entity do not exist. The only Arab mentioned as a negotiating partner is Jordan's King Hussein. "Let Hussein come with a genuine desire for peace," Platzker writes, "and we will see who will determine the course of international politics."

I have been living in the West Bank for almost a year. In that time I have met no Palestinians who consider Hussein to be their legitimate representative.

There is a representative of the Palestinian people. It is called the PLO. The continued failure of the Israeli government to negotiate with the PLO, and the failure of Israeli "leftists" like Lee to realize that peace cannot come without it, is the main obstacle to peace.

Marty Rosenbluth  
Ramallah, West Bank

## Afghanistan

SAUL LANDAU IS RIGHT IN ARGUING (ITT, Jan. 22) that U.S. support for repressive regimes has resulted in tragic changes of Third World governments, to the detriment and embarrassment of American foreign political and economic interests.

His case against U.S. support for the "freedom fighters" waging brutality and disruptive havoc against regimes that the U.S. administration finds distasteful is also well presented.

However, I have a very personal interest in Afghanistan—a child of my own and many friends who are being deprived of liberty and are subject to gross brutality.

While I have some questions about U.S. motives and methods helping the Mujahadeen, I cannot abide having the world sit by and allow the rape of my country. If, through some miracle, the "freedom fighters" should overthrow Karmal and push out the Russians, there will, without a doubt be reprisals and retribution exacted. That is normal throughout the world, no matter how unattractive and inhuman it may be. But I doubt it would make Khmer Rouge's atrocities look like a pajama party.

Eugene L. Keyser  
Walsenburg, Colo.

**Editor's note:** Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

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## DIALOG

By Lloyd J. Dumas  
& Suzanne Gordon

**G**ORDON ADAMS' VIEWS on economic conversion (*In These Times*, Jan. 15) are based on fundamental misconceptions of the analysis, goals and strategies of those who advocate economic conversion, and on flawed arguments.

Adams' main argument against conversion is this: after many serious and sincere attempts, conversion has never worked. Rather than placing this "unworkability" into an accurate context, Adams suggests that conversion has been aggressively lobbied for, actively organized around and effectively promoted by a significant group of labor and peace activists. Yet, in spite of this, this "good idea has simply not swept the land."

This is the first distortion upon which he builds his argument. Unfortunately, over its 20-year history, conversion has not been promoted by a large following in either the peace or labor movements. No mass peace movement, either now or in the past, has ever done more than give rhetorical support to the idea. Peace groups have not lobbied aggressively for conversion legislation. Most of the conversion campaigns, like the Trident campaign in Connecticut, were brief. They were often begun, as Adams admits, only after peace campaigns whose major focus was the kind of "peace witness" that often alienates defense workers and makes them poor targets for peace, disarmament or alternative economic proposals.

To date, labor has not made conversion a major concern. Only a few unions—the International Association of Machinists has consistently led union efforts at conversion—have championed conversion, either by local campaigns or national legislative initiatives. It should come as no surprise, then, that legislative efforts—and the small number of conversion campaigns that have ever been attempted—have not gone farther.

Even were conversion supported by a vigorous and well organized lobby, it would not be easy to promote. Conversion attacks the idea that the employment levels and general economic well-being of workers and communities presently dependent on military spending can be assured only by a continued flow of military money. No one should be astonished that a strategy that deprives defense contractors of a politically powerful argument for increased military spending—and against contract cancellations—might not be supported by politicians and workers dependent on the military. More than this, conversion is seen as a fundamental challenge to important management prerogatives—management's ability to shut down operations whenever and wherever it desires and to produce whatever it wants, whenever it wants, wherever it wants and however it wants. That's why it has been unpopular with the managers of military industry.

Adams also uses the "supposed failure" of the Lucas experiment to attack the viability of conversion. What he doesn't mention are Lucas' many successes and its political importance. Yes, it is true that Lucas management never agreed to produce any of the suggested products while the campaign was going on. After firing key conversion activists, a number of the products the Corporate Plan designed and developed were produced—thus proving the planning ability of the workers involved.

Moreover, key conversion advocates have taken jobs on municipal agencies like the Greater London Council and Enterprise Board and the Sheffield City Council, where they use conversion insights about community-worker involvement in planning for alternative socially useful production in Great Britain. They have

## Representation of conversion ideas

had some success there in creating development programs to fight structural unemployment. They have, in fact, been so successful that Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has moved to abolish the kind of metropolitan councils for which they work. The Lucas model has also been adopted in Italy, West Germany and Sweden. In Sweden, after a union-community campaign a major navy shipyard has been successfully converted and 2,600 jobs saved or created. In West German arms factories, union alternative use committees have been established and have successfully fought off management-initiated attempts to abandon civilian production in favor of military production.

No conversion advocate would suggest that conversion is "sweeping the land," but those who understand the nature of political change and the value of some, albeit small, successful models of change could not dismiss this activity. Adams neglects these examples and distorts the position he is attacking.

Conversion advocates are not, as Adams argues, manipulatively using the issue to pursue a peace strategy. Naturally, many conversion advocates are unapologetically and proudly disarmament advocates. They are justifiably concerned that high military budgets and current military policies threaten the world's survival. Yet, we know of no serious conversion proponent who is not also deeply concerned about the health and strength of our economy, and the economic well-being of both local communities and the nation as a whole. This concern is at the very center of the argument that military production facilities should not be shut down and their workforces laid off, but should be converted instead to production activities that strengthen rather than drain the economy.

No conversion proponent that we can think of would argue that the arms race is generated by military workers and defense-dependent communities and would thus collapse if conversion plans were initiated in every arms factory. Conversion advocates are well aware that international relations, foreign policy considerations and other external and internal factors drive the arms race. We do argue, however, that military contractors mobilize their workforces and unions representing military workers to support high military budgets and to protect particular weapons systems when they are under congressional attack.

Central to Adams' attack on conversion is his attack on the critique of the military economy that is often used by opponents of military spending. Although he presents little evidence to refute this critique, he dismisses the argument that military spending is economically damaging. Yet his allegation that military spending is relatively economically neutral misrepresents the economic damage argument.

The essence of the argument that military spending is burdensome is that it draws critical productive resources out of the rest of the economy. When continued at high levels, and over long periods, this resource drain undermines the efficiency of industries that produce goods and services for civilian consumers and producers. The decades-long diversion, for example, of more than 30 percent of the nation's scientists and engineers to military research and development has dramatically slowed the rate at which cost-saving improvements in the techniques of production have been made in American commer-

cial industry. Historically, the development of cost-saving inventions has been a major force in American economic growth, allowing wages to rise while prices are held stable. Thus, the purchasing power—and therefore the standard of living—of the average American grew as well. Simultaneously, low-priced, high quality goods "made in the USA" were extremely attractive to customers here and abroad.

The military drain of the last 40 years has limited American industry's ability to offset cost increases. Wage increases, oil price increases and the like now force price increases, causing the loss of markets here and abroad. The result: industrial decline, unemployment and a lowered standard of living for many Americans.

Adams says that proponents of the military damage argument believe military spending leads to high inflation. Yet, he says, "over the last five years we have had unprecedentedly low levels of inflation with unprecedentedly high levels of defense spending." But inflation has not been "unprecedentedly low." The average annual rate of inflation in the U.S. from 1980-84 was 7.5 percent, higher than that of any five-year period between 1950 and 1974 and only 0.6 percent lower than the peak of 1970-74 average of 8.1 percent. In fact, the average annual inflation rate over the entire 25 years from 1950-74 was only about 3 percent.

The economic damage argument is not that high military spending must lead to inflation, but that it has led to reduced ability of industry to offset costs. Thus, when wage increases and other costs increase, they are passed on as higher prices. The last five years have been characterized by lower oil prices and forced wage concessions. When costs are falling, loss of cost offsetting does not force prices up.

Wage give-backs, furthermore, are equivalent to inflation in terms of impact on the standard of living. What is the difference to workers if wages are stable and prices are rising at a rate of 10 percent, or if wages fall by 10 percent? In fact, wages and salaries in 1984 actually bought less than they did in 1976.

Adams is also wrong when he states that the job-creating effect of military spending "is not terribly different from that of other forms of public spending." In the long term, he is most assuredly wrong, since military spending—and the foreign policies it supports (support of authoritarian regimes abroad that repress

workers and trade unions and help create low-wage havens)—has played a key role in generating widespread job loss. Even in the short term, the preponderance of empirical evidence on this point, from studies of private research groups to those of the U.S. Department of Labor, contradict Adams' contention.

Adams also offers the well-known "spin-off" argument in support of the idea that development of military technology does not seriously harm the rest of the economy. Military technology has played a role in the development of all sorts of civilian technologies, Adams says, so we are not "denied the choice of investing in civilian technology." We "pay for the military version." It is not buying the technology, however, but "buying" the engineers and scientists away from the civilian economy that is at issue. No competitor will sell the critical technology that produces its competitive edge, and American industry cannot develop that technology without the engineers and scientists who are at the core of technological development.

In closing we must address one final distortion of the conversion argument. Adams questions the strategy because it makes "defense workers" a primary organizing target. To thus take on the "toughest organizing target" first does not make good organizing sense. This is a serious misstatement of the intent of the conversion strategy, which plays into a prevalent progressive assumption that politics is a zero-sum game played by competing single-issue groups. Unfortunately, many people seem to feel that to suggest integrating conversion as one component of their strategy means that they are being asked to drop "their issue" and work on "your issue."

While conversion certainly has a local component, and conversion advocates would encourage—whenever and wherever realistically possible—defense workers and defense-dependent communities to begin conversion campaigns in their factories, it is ludicrous to imagine that conversion advocates are asking peace activists to race down to their local military contractor and relentlessly patrol the factory gates. We certainly caution those who target military factories against the kind of "peace witness" orientation that all too frequently—and needlessly—alienates military workers. We would counsel peace activists to consider alternative protest targets if the workers inside that factory are not willing to discuss conversion. ■

**Lloyd J. Dumas** is professor of political economy, University of Texas (Dallas). He is editor and contributing author of *The Political Economy of Arms Reduction*. **Suzanne Gordon** is director of the International Economic Conversion Conference and co-editor of *Economic Conversion: Revitalizing America's Economy*.

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## DIALOG



Photographer unknown

## Winning isn't the only thing, but...

By Jon Brandow

**P**ERHAPS IN THE MACROSCOPIC view of Gordon Adams, the defense industry doesn't boom and bust (*In These Times*, Jan. 15). He should tell that to the 5,500 laid-off workers at the General Dynamics shipyard in Quincy, Mass. Or to the hundreds who streamed into Massachusetts from dying shipyard towns

around the country before Quincy's own shutdown was announced. Or maybe to the 2,000 Navy Yard workers in Philadelphia who are anticipating the bad news—probably permanent—any day now. Certainly, the overall dollar expenditures for defense have been rising relentlessly. But the variants of appropriations and contract awards insure that many defense workers in industries like shipbuilding will continue to experience terrific instability. Sensible conversion work in these situations

can be fruitful—that is, workers can benefit from it practically. They may even begin to see a political alternative to military overspending, although that's much farther down the pike. If Adams doesn't think that such a possibility is threatening to defense contractors, he doesn't understand the psychology of defense plant politics or labor relations.

Adams' counsel to abandon conversion organizing receives unintended back-up from Suzanne Gordon. Gordon offers that it's "disastrous" to judge conversion struggles "just in terms of winning or losing." Her comment hits Adams' nail on the head exactly: if conversion proponents aren't in this thing to win new, stable jobs at comparable wages for defense workers, why are they in it? To score their own peace points for the long run? Adams is right here: no one is interested in that stuff.

By way of solution, Adams suggests that peace advocates should talk about peace and that others should talk about jobs. But that "principled" perspective is part of the problem already. Too many peace advocates, even in the conversion movement, are willing to support workers' search for security—but only on their own terms. For example, a late-forming coalition around Quincy shipyards re-use recently structured points of minimum unity for participation. These include civilian-oriented production, support of state-wide and national conversion legislation and alteration of the shipyard to "other productive uses." True, criteria about the quality and type of jobs were also inserted.

Even so, does anyone really expect workers, communities or politicians to get

fired up about a "Save the Jobs" coalition that really means "Save the Jobs Under Certain Conditions That Coincide with My Entire Agenda"? Of course not. So it's no surprise that Gordon herself commented at one meeting that "we can't affect this [redevelopment] process anyway. So we might as well say what we mean." The small group in the room decided that its priority was to form a coalition around conversion principles, rather than a broader one focused on the Quincy shutdown.

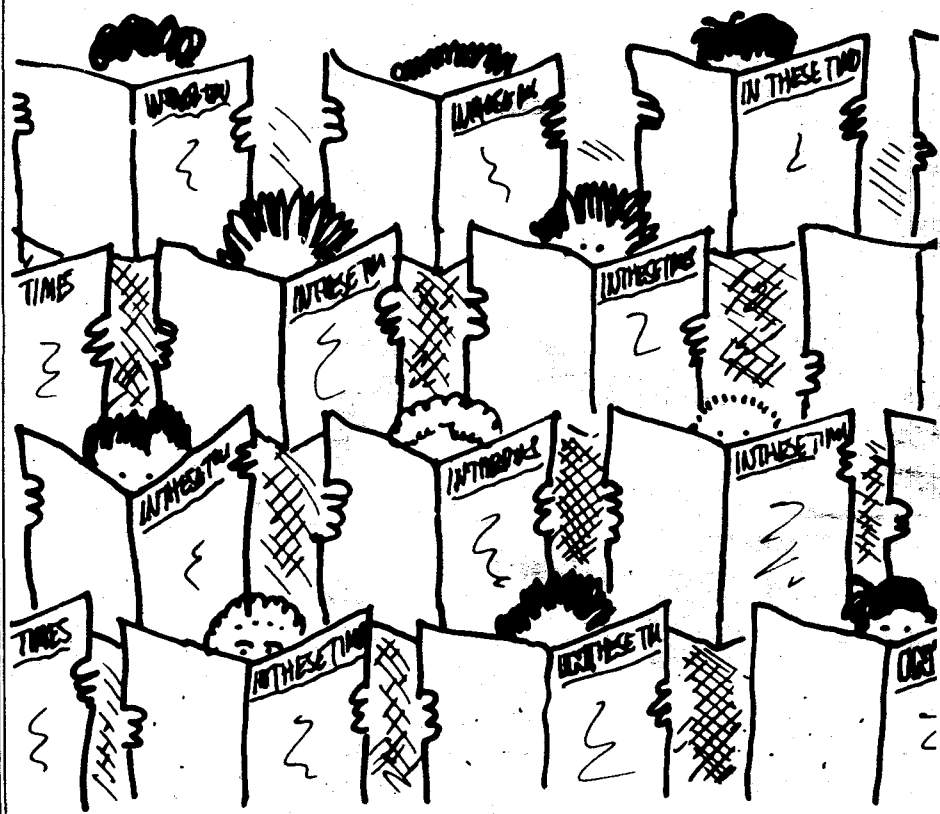
Conversion struggles could be effective—including an occasional taste of success—but like anything else, the situation and tactics must be just so. Conversion legislation is a great idea whose time has not yet come, in part because there are no effective, broad-based re-use coalitions zeroed in on declining defense plants at the local level. And there will be no such coalitions as long as conversion proponents are stuck in their own issues and place them ahead of the demands of those most directly touched by defense plant closing crises.

Does this mean that peace advocates should give up their agenda for the sake of defense workers? Not at all. But they do need to learn to work in coalitions with forces that are both more powerful and more central to the struggle at hand. In other words, peace-conversion folks should shape demands that are not self-limiting, yet don't contradict their own programs. They should learn when to talk about their own issues—and when to shut up about what sort of jobs are "socially useful." Just remember: the peace movement has made a few blunders as far as defense workers are concerned, and the conversion wing shares the heat. A rapprochement won't be easy.

The issue is stable jobs. If the peace movement deserts conversion work, as Adams favors, it will never gain labor's ear. On the other hand, if disarmament advocates climb in the ring mainly to educate, not win, they might as well stay home. But by helping to organize local fights for decent jobs, even peace activists might win a hearing for their particular perspective. That's not unprincipled, it's tactical. It might even be a winner. ■

*Jon Brandow worked at General Dynamics shipyard in Quincy, Mass., for nine years, serving as president of Shipbuilders Local 5 from 1982-84. He is currently Conversion Project director for the PA Jobs with Peace campaign around the Philadelphia Naval Shipyard.*

### PROFESSORS! USE "IN THESE TIMES" IN YOUR CLASSROOM



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*Too many peace advocates are willing to support workers' search for security—but only on their own terms.*



**The Mother Machine:  
Reproductive Technologies from  
Artificial Insemination to  
Artificial Wombs**

by Gena Corea  
Harper & Row, 374 pp., \$18.95

**The Hidden Malpractice: How  
American Medicine Mistreats  
Women (Updated Edition)**

By Gena Corea  
Harper Colophon, 392 pp., \$7.95

By Katherine Carlson

**Y**OUR SEX LIFE HAS BEEN programmed around an inflexible 28-day calendar. Your womb has been scraped with sharp metal instruments, your tubes inflated with pressurized gas, your body injected with dyes and hormones, your abdomen repeatedly slit. After miscarrying twice, you have a total hysterectomy that removes your tortured reproductive organs and leaves you sterile—something you may or may not have been before the whole process began.

This is the process of in-vitro fertilization, the out-of-body creation of an embryo that results in a "test tube" baby. Is in-vitro fertilization a scientific miracle for the infertile? Or is it an uncontrolled experiment by scientists whose hidden agenda may be to put motherhood in the hands of men?

Gena Corea, a feminist health writer who produced a brilliant indictment of male-dominated medicine in her 1977 book *The Hidden Malpractice*, asks these questions in her new book, *The Mother Machine*. One image is worth a thousand well-researched facts:

"Woman, once deified as the life-creating Goddess, is now lying on a table with her mouth taped shut, having the eggs sucked out of her body."

Corea is angry. She is angered by suppressed facts about the dangers of new reproductive technologies and appalled by the in-vitro fertilization propaganda that has been taken as fact by the press. *The Mother Machine* is a strong antidote to the miracle-cure-for-curse-of-infertility brand of reporting that has helped legitimize what is still a largely unsuccessful experimental technique.

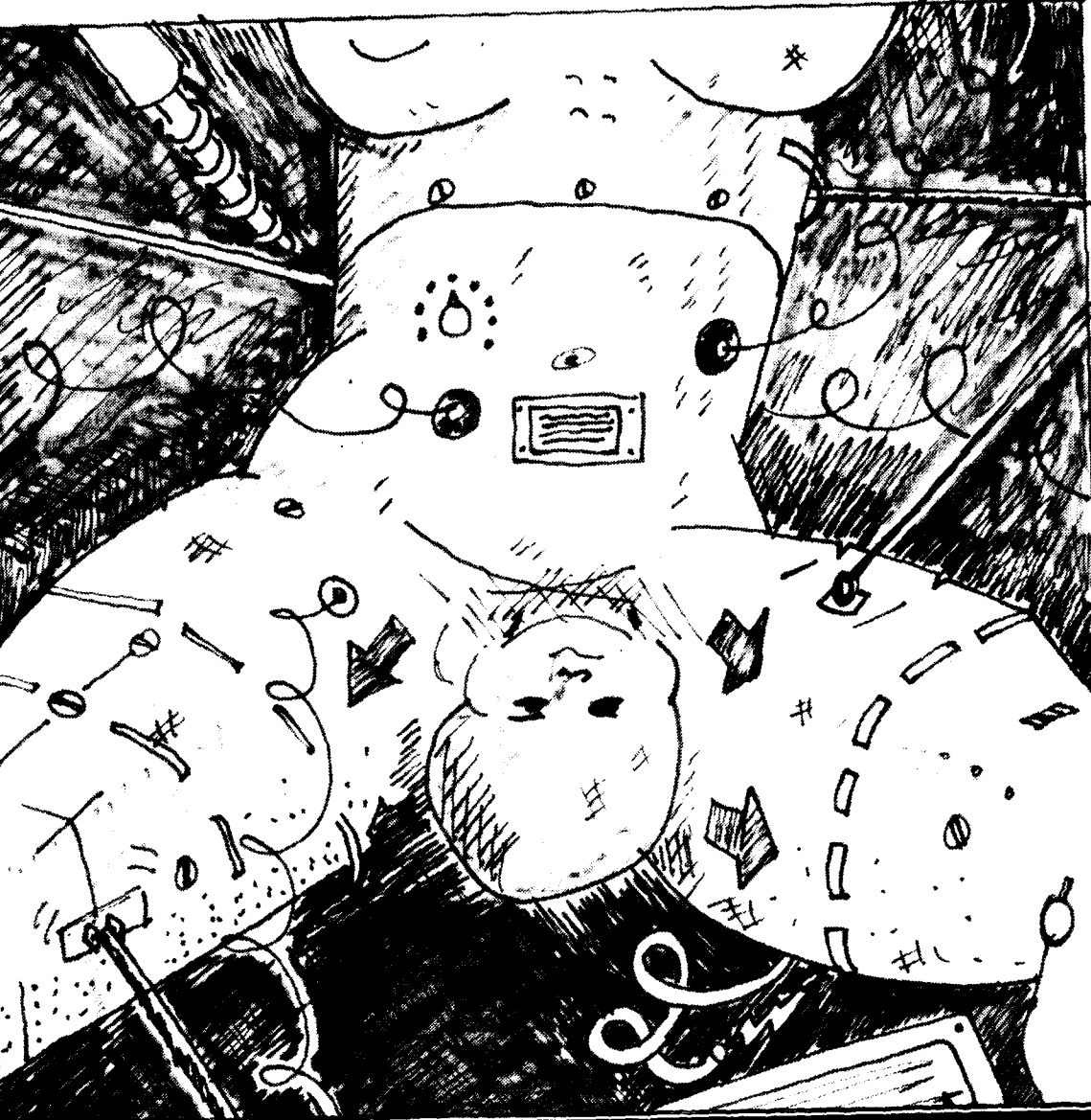
Although the body of Corea's book describes new technologies like in-vitro fertilization and how they work or fail to work, its heart is a chapter on reproductive continuity. In it, Corea theorizes about why male scientists are so hot to control female fertility.

#### The distaff half

Birth, for women, is a continuous process. Some women know immediately after conception that they are pregnant; their bodies speak with subtle, then with grand, changes. Women feel movements, carry the increasing weight, encounter the shock of labor and sense the rush of their breast milk coming in. They are intimately involved in each pregnant moment.

Men's experience of birth is discontinuous. Between sex and delivery are nine months of watching a woman change. In a society dominated by the concept of possession, it is clear that if birth belongs to either parent it is the mother's event. It is one act of female experience that cannot be stolen, co-opted, replicated or made a complete source of shame to women.

Until now, Corea believes the new technologies will change that dynamic—giving men the continuous experience, women the frag-



## REPRODUCTIVE TECHNOLOGY

# Corea's rebirth of a notion

mented one.

In *The Hidden Malpractice* Corea gives a pocket history of how men have taken control of birth away from women. Men developed the specialty of obstetrics in the 19th century, convincing American women that the midwives they had used since the beginning of time were "dim-witted, pestilence carrying old hags.... Asserting that the employment of midwives threatened the lives of mothers and babies, they pressured to outlaw their rivals."

#### Who's zoomin' who?

Midwives were eradicated and in their place arose male doctors who were primarily responsible for epidemics of childbed fever (the doctors didn't wash their hands in the good old days), routine episiotomies (cuts in the vagina to widen the birth canal), forceps deliveries resulting in brain damage to babies, drugs to hold back labor, drugs to stimulate labor, DES and Thalidomide, cesarean sections, anesthesia for normal pregnancies and bottle feeding instead of breast feeding.

The specialty of gynecology was developed, says Corea, primarily to repair the damage to women's bodies caused by obstetricians. Obstetricians today are said to "deliver" babies who would inevitably have delivered themselves if the doctor were absent—labor and delivery have already been made unnatural and discontinuous for women. The fact that some women are taking back their bodily right to deliver naturally should not obscure the fact that most trot submissively into hospitals to be induced, anesthetized and "delivered" at the will of the physician.

But with new technologies pregnancy, and even conception, are being made discontinuous for women. Artificial insemination allows women with sterile husbands to have a baby, a worthy goal. The same technique, however, in the hands of a eugenicist is a threat to female autonomy. It reduces women to vessels in which sperm from the superior breeding type male is dumped. As Corea points out, the superior breeding type usually bears a close resemblance to the eugenicist—male, white, scientifically inclined. Sperm can also be frozen, which allows some men to order themselves replicated throughout their lives and beyond.

Embryo transfer and in-vitro fertilization are two technologies that make the birth process even more discontinuous for women. First an egg must be obtained from an egg donor (some donors are robbed of eggs while being operated upon in an entirely unrelated procedure). The egg is fertilized by sperm in a laboratory. The resultant embryo can be sexed. If it is the wrong sex (read female in the majority of cases), it can be thrown out.

#### Getting into their genes

The embryo is then implanted in a woman's womb, where it grows to maturity unless, of course, the woman miscarries, which is likely. The egg donor may be the incubating mother, or the egg donor may be selling eggs, or a surrogate mother may be selling her womb as an incubator. In the future, the embryo may be raised in an artificial womb. Or forget the embryo—clone a new human being from male genes and leave the mother machine out.

The artificial womb and cloning schemes are currently science fic-

tion. But the following scenario is technically feasible and may already have happened: a man wants a son to whom he can pass on his inheritance. He pays an egg donor to give up eggs to be fertilized in a laboratory by his own sperm. The resulting embryo is sexed as male. It is implanted in a surrogate mother, perhaps a poor woman who needs money and can't get it any other way. She delivers the baby, collects the cash and stifles whatever maternal feelings nine months of intimacy with the baby have engendered in her. Father and son live happily ever after. Better living through chemistry.

In *The Mother Machine's* speculative scenarios Corea perhaps lingers on the worst possible cases. But in *The Hidden Malpractice* Corea had already documented with chilling brilliance that if technological medicine can be used to control and demean women, it probably will be. In discussing discrimination against women in medical education, the history of obstetrics, drug experiments using unconsenting women as subjects, forced sterilization, abortion, venereal disease, Corea amply documents how medicine has gone wrong in America. Even though I've worked in health care for more than 10 years *The Hidden Malpractice* shocked me. Corea dissects the glib explanations that are put forward as scientific fact by practitioners and drug manufacturers who put profit and "scientific" curiosity above the health of women.

*The Hidden Malpractice* lets facts speak for themselves. *The Mother Machine* is another matter. It is an editorial and is thus a less effective work. It begins with introductory comments to male readers that violate the rules of fair play—fellers, if you disagree it's just defensiveness. You're guilty.

#### Shame on men, same on Corea

"Men are in a difficult position here. In this book, they are faced with evidence that they, as a social

group, obtain economic, sexual and psychological gains from women at a most terrible cost to women."

I envisage some poor penis-wearing knowledge seeker who doesn't know a corpus luteum from a writ of habeas corpus throwing the book across the room and say "mea maxima bullshit," and perhaps never again delving into the miraculous beauty of female biology. Corea's dispensing this kind of shame is, well, kind of a shame.

Corea also includes frequent interpositions throughout *The Mother Machine* of what I call sad scenes from the farmyard. Embryo transfer techniques are already used for profit in cattle. She describes brutally indifferent men putting heifers through tortures in order to make a buck off the calves. The heifers low, fight, writhe and are kicked into submission. Women are supposed to read this as our future under the new technologies.

But women aren't cattle—they walk in and ask for these technologies, willingly undergo the suffering. Corea implies that women are coerced into this choosing.

"The propaganda...that women are nothing unless they bear children, that if they are infertile, they lose their most basic identity as women—has a coercive power. It conditions a woman's choices as well as her motivation to choose... When the pharmacrats, and in some cases, husbands, speak to the unconscious of infertile women, playing on a fear of barrenness...they are exercising...an alternative kind of coercion.... Through a manipulation of her anxieties, she comes to want what pharmacrats compel her to want."

#### Expensive naivete

Sorry, no sale. Women must be accountable for their own choices and quit trying to chalk up some stupid ones to pressure from the big, bad system. Part of our complicity in this system is the naive belief shared by many Americans, men and women alike, that doctors will take care of us. That is a naivete we can't afford. It is up to each of us to make the medical community accountable. Often we're not being lied to; we're just not asking questions. Our meek silence is doing us in.

Even if women asked the right questions, some would still choose in-vitro fertilization or some of the other technologies being discovered. Women do not have to be coerced into wanting babies, sometimes desperately. If that desire was not imprinted upon some of our male and female genetic circuits, the species would be waving bye-bye. It's Basic Biology 1-001, survival of the species, which is not mentioned anywhere in *The Mother Machine* because it does not support Corea's theories.

Whatever the book's flaws, it nonetheless accomplishes Corea's stated objective: "clearly articulating the values we want to uphold and...demonstrating how the technologies impair the well-being of women." She manages to crystallize the unease that many of us felt as the press trumpeted the test tube miracle. She taps into a fear many of us have that science, while exploring a mystery, may destroy a beauty that only women can feel.

Katherine Carlson is a Minneapolis-based fiction writer and journalist who currently works for the Hennepin County Medical Center.



# MEDIA B E A T

## Franchising Public Radio

At the lower end of your FM radio dial you'll find *All Things Considered*, maybe some bluegrass, Garrison Keillor—and, increasingly, a prerecorded program of fundamentalist sermonizing. Fundamentalist Christian franchisers have figured out how to turn the part of the spectrum reserved for noncommercial use—88 to 92—into profit. Outfits like American Heritage Radio Network (whose president was once Moral Majority national field director), the Voice Network and Family Stations, Inc., approach a local church or religious organization. (All noncommercial stations must be locally owned.) They offer a complete package: a boilerplate application to the Federal Communications Commission for a radio license, round-the-clock programming, equipment and even in some cases administrative assistance. The church can pay off the franchisers' bills with donations raised on the air. It's not illegal, but it twists the mandate to keep a piece of the increasingly scarce spectrum for public and local use. Hundreds now exist, and applications continue steadily. In fact, in crowded markets like Southern California, filings are challenging existing stations, including one owned by the University of California. Public broadcasters are worried but haven't tackled the franchisers, possibly for fear of tangling with the religious right. The FCC's deregulation of rules on filing applications makes it hard to find out who's a real local broadcaster and who's a front for the franchisers. But it's still possible to challenge applications with a petition to deny the license—if you can find out who's filing. Because religious franchisers go so far as recommending specific names, a few, almost generic names pop up repeatedly on the applications—(name of city) Educational Broadcasting Foundation, Joy and Nathan; and filers are required to take out ads in local papers announcing the application. The FM branch of the FCC's Mass Media Bureau (at [202] 632-6908, 1919 M. St., NW, Washington, DC 20554) receives complaints and also has listings of recent filings by geographical area. Only action by local citizens, it seems, demanding genuine local public radio, is going to call the attention of the FCC to a betrayal of the public part of the radio spectrum.

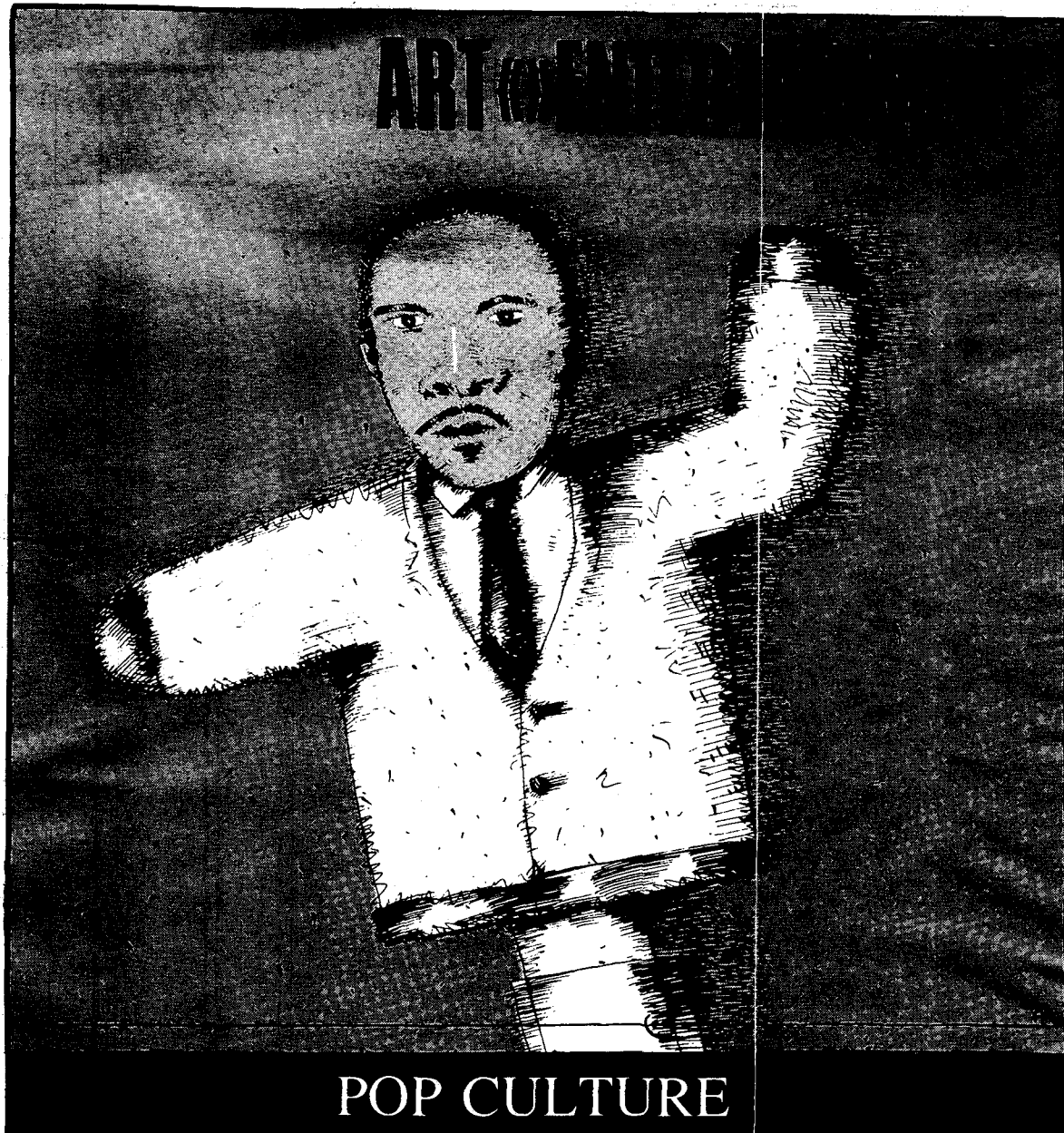
## Tragedy on Prime Time

The space shuttle explosion got the ultimate recognition that a national tragedy had occurred: broadcast and cable television networks suspended advertising and pre-empted programs while they covered reactions to the horror. Not that they let the sacrifice go unnoticed: CBS immediately released an estimate of the loss to the networks (about \$9 million for the first day). And not that it went unnoticed among viewers, either: the networks recorded thousands of calls from angry viewers who said they were sick of space news and mourning the loss of their own programs.

## Shut Up and Watch

FCC Commission head Mark Fowler hates the Fairness Doctrine—the regulation that requires broadcasters to present issues of public concern with balance. That's no secret. At the last FCC open meeting January 30, he trumpeted his opinion that the Doctrine "absolutely stifles free speech" (since broadcasters might avoid hot issues rather than run the risk of giving citizens response time). Last year the FCC held an inquiry on whether the Doctrine should die (answer: yes, but it looks like Congress, not the FCC, must make the decision). The FCC continues to beg an unwilling Congress to abolish it. But Fowler has found other ways to sabotage the Doctrine—this time in the courts. Two upcoming legal cases attack the Doctrine, and they are "the two most important cases since Red Lion [the case that created the Doctrine] in 1969," according to Bob Gurss at the public interest law firm Media Access Project. In one case (*RTNDA v. FCC*), big-time broadcast interests are suing the FCC, arguing that evidence in its Fairness Doctrine inquiry was so decisive that the FCC should have done away with the Doctrine itself. The charge is so frivolous that MAP and others have asked the court to dismiss it; but the FCC opposed the motion, supporting its own accusers. And in *Meredith v. FCC*, the only Fairness Doctrine victory since Fowler took office is being attacked. The Syracuse Peace Council filed against a TV station that showed pro-nuclear ads and won time to present its own views. Now Meredith, which owns the station, is charging that the Doctrine is unconstitutional. The danger of biased broadcasting does not bother Fowler, who at the January 30 meeting acknowledged that without the Doctrine broadcasters might indeed be "unfair or biased." But so what? "I believe people are still capable of making a decision" based on faulty information, he said, pointing to the precedent of slipshod newspaper journalism. The premise implicit in the First Amendment—that access to information is crucial to informed judgment on public affairs in a democracy—seems to have slipped by the guardian of the public interest in the most influential medium of our time.

—Pat Aufderheide



# Awakening to the dream

## By Rock'n'Roll Confidential

LAST YEAR A BATTLE RAGED over the meaning of Bruce Springsteen's "Born in the U.S.A." Today a similar fight is taking place over the legacy of Dr. Martin Luther King. The January 16 "Cosby Show" concluded with the action stopped dead in its tracks as the family turned its attention to a TV clip of Dr. King's "I Have a Dream" speech. There was no setup and there didn't need to be. The effect was shattering, intensified by the fact that without the movement led by King there could be no "Cosby Show."

What followed undercut and spoiled that moment: A McDonald's commercial disguised as a tribute to Dr. King. Thus, a corporation that has lobbied for more than a decade for a subminimum wage law attempts to trade on the image of a man who once said, "What good does it do to have integrated lunch counters if you can't afford a hamburger?"

Will King's memory be an icon for meaningless platitudes or a symbol of struggle for equality and peace? President Reagan wants to do to King's life what he wanted to do to Springsteen's song: render it harmless and meaningless. "Our country is different and better because of his attitude," Reagan told 350 schoolchildren on January 15, King's true birthdate. Yet for the past 18 months, Reagan's Justice Department has waged war against surviving Alabama civil rights leaders, the men and women who have been most effective in using the 1965 Voting Rights Act (forged by King's work) to get out the black vote. Among those the Justice Department has attempted to imprison is Albert Turner, who was Martin Luther King's chief aide. Most established black leaders

kept quiet about what was going down in Alabama, but musicians ranging from Teddy Pendergrass to Steve Van Zandt, Afrika Bambaataa to John Cougar Mellencamp, stepped forward to denounce the government's attempt to sweep away the gains of the civil rights movement. This isn't so surprising if you recall that it was a musician, Stevie Wonder, who forced Congress to establish King's birthday at a national holiday and that King's message was spread around the world last year by U2's soaring "Pride (In the Name of Love)."

## Celebration for all

That was only the beginning. On January 20, the official King holi-

could easily have been a maudlin morass.

Still, the basic question about the meaning of Dr. King's legacy remains unresolved even in the music business. "Miami Vice" star and would-be pop singer Philip Michael Thomas demanded and received a \$25,000 fee for appearing at an event in Seattle honoring King's memory. Prince gave \$85,000 to help produce the "King Holiday" video, but in "America" he sings about a girl who lives in a cage and works for minimum wage [a cashier at McDonald's?] yet is satisfied just because she's an American. Martin Luther King dedicated his entire life to the proposition that no one should be satisfied until they get

## Will Martin Luther King's memory become an icon for platitudes or a symbol for struggle?

day, 9,642 radio stations simultaneously aired a five-minute excerpt from "I Have a Dream." Group W Radio chairman Dick Harris organized the effort because, he told *Radio & Records*, he wanted Americans to understand that the celebration of King's birthday was for all of us, not just blacks.

Another appropriate programming choice would have been "King Holiday," by the King Dream Chorus and Holiday Crew. Conceived by Kurtis Blow, "King Holiday" celebrates the "Drum Major for Justice" by using rappers such as the Fat Boys and Run-DMC in combination with the sweet voices of El DeBarge, Whitney Houston, Teena Marie and Menudo. Both tune and production are first-rate, avoiding what

what they need.

The music industry, by injecting the symbol of that message forcefully into an America on the brink of war, an America where millions are hungry and homeless, presents a rare public challenge to the clichéd image of Dr. King. A spokesman for Kurtis Blow told RRC, "'King Holiday' isn't just for this first national celebration, it's a song that will become an evergreen, taking on a permanent life of its own."

"A dream goes on forever," Todd Rundgren once sang, but that's not quite right. A dream goes on until it comes true.

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# History

Continued from page 16

ness by U.S. society to accord black Americans their rightful place in history?

Just as the spectacle of the most ideologically conservative president in history signing into law a holiday honoring a black agitator sparked enthusiastic speculation, so too does the nation's apparent embrace of Black History Month. Is some benign alteration of the national character occurring during this conservative era? Some are not convinced.

## A seasonal jamboree

"This observance is just one pitiful example of the chronic ideological poverty at play in black America," contends Anderson Thompson, a historian at Northeastern Illinois Center for Inner City Studies in Chicago. "It demonstrates how white corporate America, the federal, state and local governments have captured Black History Month." By capturing it, Thompson argues, the celebration has been co-opted and corrupted. "It's now become a ritual, seasonal jamboree of speeches, entertainment, dazzling performances for blacks, sponsored by candy, alcohol, cigarette and hamburger companies. Corporate America has figured out how to use the month for aggressive profiteering."

Thompson says the reason most black leaders ignore the growing superficiality of the monthly observance is their financial stake in its perpetuation. "This time of the year is the busiest and most lucrative for various experts on the black experience." He insists the original purpose of this commemoration has been lost in an atmosphere of frivolity and commerce.

Historian Carter G. Woodson established Negro History Week in 1926 to help counter the prevailing notion that black Americans had no record of human achievement. A proud, scholarly man with degrees from the University of Chicago and Harvard, Woodson was angered by white America's refusal

to place blacks anywhere on the stage of civilization. In 1915 he founded the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History and, under that group's auspices, published the *Journal of Negro History*. That publication was instrumental in beating the drum for a new appraisal of African-American history and successfully pushed to establish a week in February to study a past in constant danger of being blotted out by racist obscurantism.

Inspired by the Black Studies Movement of the late '60s, the week, which had been accorded little prominence outside the black community, was expanded into the entire month of February and celebrated nationally. Thompson, like some others, argues that as the observance has grown in acceptance, its focus has been diluted. Woodson created it as a period for serious reflection on the life-and-death questions confronting the black community, and its perversion may even be more threatening than the scorn it was once accorded.

## Marketing history

While Thompson finds menace in the corporate appropriation of black history, Puckrein finds promise. "My sense is that it's a good thing," he says. "If you want to preserve history in this day and time, you have to market it. It requires financial resources to create a repository for discovered knowledge. As poor as blacks have been as a community, we need as much commercial input as we can get."

John Hope Franklin, often referred to as the dean of black historians, agrees with Puckrein. "The change in the attitude about black history is very gratifying to me," he says. "I remember, and it really wasn't so long ago, when a lot of white scholars, not just lay people, thought that black folks had no history to speak of. And I also remember when most black children knew nothing of their forebearers. So any improvement in that situation is to me a vast improvement."

For John G. Jackson, a self-made historian and author of books on ancient African

history as well as African-American history, the month-long observation is too categorical. "February is Black History Month and that's it," he notes. "When the month ends, all interest in black history is supposed to end also. Campus invitations suddenly stop coming in, civic groups lose their concern for the overall situation of blacks who are still scarred by years of racism and blacks are simply retracted into some sort of socio-cultural corner, to stay out of sight until next year. That, to me, is a bit demeaning," Jackson says.

Corporate exploitation of the observance is a good sign to many whose interests are not directly concerned with the study of history. "Advertisers are demonstrating an increased appreciation and sensitivity to black sensibilities in the way they respond to Black History Month," says Beverly Coley, regional manager of the Amalgamated Publishers, Inc., a group that represents 88 black newspapers nationwide. "During the month of February they aggressively increase their ad space in black publications. They know that if black people feel a special invitation has been extended, they will respond favorably to the product. In the last few years I've seen a great increase in the number of advertising dollars

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IN THESE TIMES FEB. 19-25, 1986 15  
spent to appeal to blacks during this month."

Josef ben-Jochannan, one of the most prolific historians of African antiquity, questions American culture's awkward embrace of Black History Month, but concludes that blacks receive benefits nonetheless. "It's far from ideal, of course, but it's a beginning. If black educators and leaders can learn how to use this national hoopla to boost interest in our history, we may get something long-lasting out of this temporary historical anomaly."

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A symposium, "Fortress America: Militarism and American Society," will be held at the University of South Florida, Tampa. Presenters include Richard Barnett, Philip Berrigan, Daniel Ellsberg, Jack Geiger, Joanne Rankin, Sheila Tobias and Howard Zinn. Local speakers and feature films round out the week. Admission is free. For information call E. Breit, 974-2163 or S. Greenbaum, 974-2209.

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**JEWISH CURRENTS**, February 1986 issue. "Black America: Conditions and Prospects," Paul Robeson Jr.; "Mayor Koch vs. Prof. Tabb, 'A Secular Religion?'" Max Rosenfeld. Single copy: \$1.25 plus 75¢ postage. Subscriptions: \$12.00 yearly (in USA). Jewish Currents, Dept. T, Suite 601, 22 East 17th St., New York, NY 10003.

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# VISIONS

of

BLACK

HISTORY

By Salim Muwakkil

A PIECE OF AMERICA IS MISSING...." reads an advertising trailer for *American Visions*, a new magazine created to explore the culture and history of black Americans. The publication is the brainchild of Rutgers University historian Gary Puckrein, who four years ago decided the time was ripe for a magazine devoted to telling "a part of the American story [that] remains to be told."

Puckrein had grown frustrated with the general ignorance about blacks' struggles for equality and their contributions to this country's development, and he decided that merely denouncing the situation was not enough. "I made up my mind that I would do something substantial to change the status quo," he explains. Puckrein concluded that a magazine was the best way to present the black experience.

His idea was noble but naive. The high mortality rate for magazines in general is multiplied when the publication is black-oriented and scholarly. What oracle of demographics had Puckrein consulted? What kind of miracle was he expecting? While on a fellowship to the Smithsonian Institution, Puckrein pitched the idea to officials there. He envisaged the publication as a kind of black *Smithsonian Magazine*. "My enthusiasm for the project was infectious and the need was admittedly so great, I was able to sell the idea after some initial bureaucratic skepticism," Puckrein says.

*American Visions* made its debut this January. It's published by Visions Foundation, a division of the Smithsonian. Major support also comes from Rutgers and the Philip H. Graham Fund. Publisher/editor Puckrein plans eventually to pull away from that institutional support and make the magazine self-sufficient. His chances for making such a transformation are aided immeasurably by the Smithsonian connection: advertisers covet the educated readers such publications deliver.

It's a slick affair, clearly modeled on the *Smithsonian Magazine*. The design is traditional and somber, the writing scholarly. The advertising focus reveals the demographic scope the magazine aspires to cover. There are ads ranging from inducements to join the Army to glossy spreads for Tiffany & Co.

"We planned for the first issue to appear in time for the first celebration of Martin Luther King Day and Black History Month," Puckrein says. That he succeeded speaks well for his determination and dedication. Does it also hint at a greater willingness?

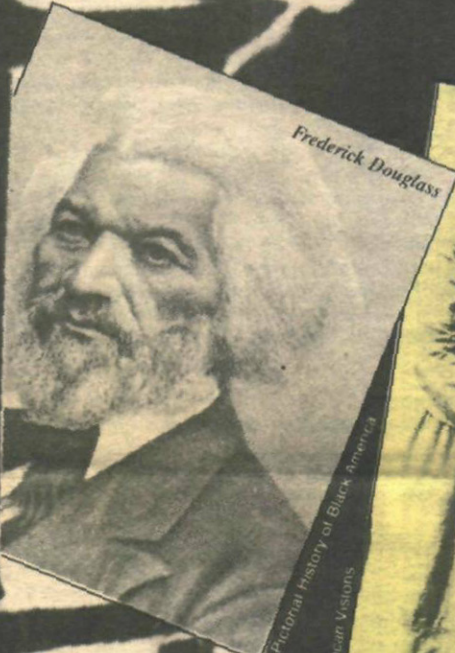
Continued on page 15



Carter G. Woodson



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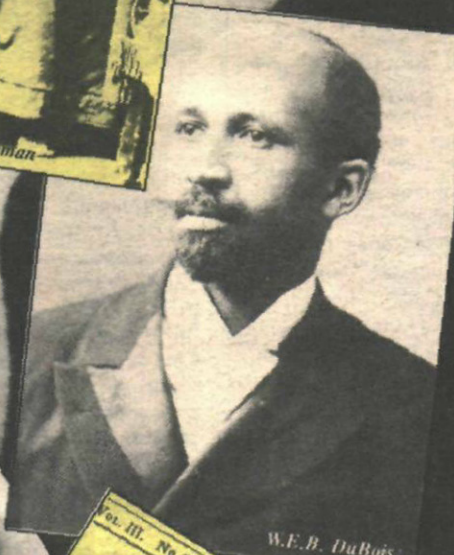
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